592

[For information on family and household structure, see also Categories 594 and 596.]

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

342
362

Sound and a variety of sub-standard housing can be found together in some sections of Browning.

177
829 seemed, of retaining, if not regaining, some aspects of his better life. To Arrowhead, those better days are gone, part of what was lost when the white man "took everything from the Indian." The white man has become the scapegoat for all John's ills; he can do nothing about this and evidently expects no changes for the better.

177
[427] John rents a small three room shack on Moccasin Flat where he lives with his wife and the younger two of their four children. His wife has made this place
592 quite comfortable in spite of its run-down condition. John said that he also has
423 a house on his land, where he used to live, and to which they sometimes go for
592 a few months during the summer. Some of his friends are unmarried and live
511 with members of their family, some have separated from their wives and have no fixed residence. Most of his close friends are equally improvident, with a life style similar to that of Arrowhead.

[771] Why does Arrowhead not participate in the Indian ceremonies about which he knows so much? He is, he said, a Catholic, but seldom goes to church. How much does he understand of Christianity? How much does he believe in the old religion? Along with these questions, yet to be answered, are others. What factors contribute to the apparent differences between Arrowhead and Buffalo Heart? In what ways are they similar? Are the differences and similarities to be explained by age, skills, experience, education, or what? These same questions arise again and again as these men are compared with other tribal members.

I met several other older men, in ranch dress, who came to town once a week or so. One, Roy Conrad, age sixty-eight, is a farmer from the east side of

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

concerning the tribe and the reservation, but see their future in terms of work, money, and building capital—the ranch, the farm, the herd. Some people represented by Roy and Bob achieve more success than others in this endeavor.

I also met some younger men, in appearance and dress youthful counterparts of John Arrowhead. They, however, spend less time standing around, seem to be more animated in their conversation, and move more often at a somewhat quicker pace. Like Roy and Bob, these men are not in town regularly. Joseph Renault, for example, is seen for a few days and then is gone for weeks at a time. He appears to differ in a number of ways from the others I have talked about.

Upon acquaintance, I found that this man is an active seeker of work, is known to be a good worker who is called whenever jobs are available. He also leaves the reservation to look for work in the harvests, to fight forest fires, or to take construction jobs. His employment is irregular and seasonal, yet he takes advantage of all such work available.

Joe is thirty-two years old, ⅜ Blackfeet, married but separated from his wife. When home, on Badger Creek near Old Agency, he lives with his mother, a sister, her two children, and two of his children that his mother is raising. These seven people live in a two room frame house that is badly in need of repair.

Joe knows something of Indian practices and has participated occasionally in social dancing. He speaks English quite fluently and claims to know very little of the Blackfeet language. He talked of both work conditions and old Indian ways during our discussions, but as a participant in the work realm and as one who was marginal to the Indian ways. He is a Catholic by faith, but here, too, is seldom a participant. I met him in town, where he frequently comes "between jobs" to meet his friends, have a few drinks and then, when his cash is gone, leave to find more work.

Because the opportunities to get better acquainted with Joe were few, I have but a shallow impression of his way of life. He impressed me as a man who, if trained, could become a steady worker, or who might just as readily fall into a pattern of life like that of Arrowhead as jobs become harder to find as he grows older. I learned little of his values or the beliefs to which he is committed; his goals, at least as he expressed them, seem to be limited to the next job and the spending of the money he earns. He talked occasionally of going on relocation, or of signing up for on-the-job training, but hinted that these thoughts have been with him for several years and have never gone beyond the inquiry stage. He had been in the Army for two years where he had learned welding, but found no demand for that trade on the reservation. "I may go to Denver and get a welding job," he said once, but he never went and I felt that in all probability he never would. If, in later years, he should go, and is successful in finding a trade and sticking to it, he might avoid the Arrowhead pattern. Yet he gives the impression that he would expect to fail and would return to the reservation. What creates these impressions of a man who at first seems so open and self-assured? The assurance is there when he talks of the present, but when he is led into thinking about the future he give the impression that this is unexplored territory. He has only vague ideas to work with. Also, he seems to have but shallow ties with the past, limited to his own experience plus what little he knows of his parents' life. Perhaps he

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

a repayment, but this act was also a display of generosity toward one of less wealth and thus established a moral obligation that could be converted later into support for one's opinions in council. A man of property gained position within his band by sharing generously with those less fortunate than himself, and gained stature within the tribe by feasting members of other bands and the giving of gifts to the leaders of other bands. *Generosity was a major requisite for prestige and status.*

In summary, resources were unowned, food and materials were open equally to all according to his energy and ability. Food became the property of the one who took it, to be shared first with his family, then with others to whom he might be obligated and with the unfortunate. In times of famine, food became band property to be shared by all.

Horses and other material goods were individually owned and were bought and sold, borrowed and given. Personal dreams, experiences, exploits and the symbols of these were also personal property and could be transferred by one person to another in exchange for other goods.

The distribution system fostered individual gain and accumulation. The consumption system countered this by imposing social sanctions that rewarded charity and generosity with prestige and status. This force will be examined further.

Social Organization

A child born to Blackfeet parents began early to learn the patterns of social interaction. He was first of all a member of a household—the occupants of a single tepee—which included the parents, unmarried brothers and sisters, and perhaps one or two other relatives as well, such as a grandparent, a maiden aunt, or other wives of the household head.

As the child grew older it learned that its family was the minimal economic unit of the Blackfeet society. The father was the decision maker, the one responsible for the protection and good behavior of its members; the first wife was the owner of the tepee, responsible for the other wives if any, for the care of the children, maintenance of the tepee and other duties within the women's realm. The child learned too about other kinsmen, that he had important relatives on both sides of the family—in other words, kin were recognized bilaterally.

As acquaintances were made beyond the household, he or she learned that there were other families that regularly lived near and traveled with one's own. These were members of the band, the day in and day out hunting and gathering group that was the basic economic and political unit of the Blackfeet. It was the band that moved according to the requirements of the yearly round, camped alone through the winter, joined with other bands in the summer for the tribal hunt. The child learned the band name and identified with it: he was a child of his parents and one of the Small Robes, Skunks, Lone Eaters or whatever his band might be (see Grinnell 1907:208–210 for one listing of band names). Over the years he learned too that the people who gathered during the summer hunt were fellow Piegan, and that among other people encountered on occasion were some who spoke his language, did things his way, were Blackfeet of the other divisions—the

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NP6 Blackfoot NP6

its own shop at St. Mary. Duck Lake in the northern part of the reservation has long been famous as a fishing spot and attracted its share of travelers. But it is becoming apparent that the tourist potential has hardly been tapped. Plans are well along for a major tourist complex, with a lodge, campground, dining facilities, bar, marina, Indian tepee village and other facilities on Lower St. Mary Lake. Some camping facilities are already available and others are being planned. Such enterprises will surely produce revenues for the tribe; how many jobs will result for tribal members is another question. Concessionaires often bring their own employees in spite of efforts by the tribe to guarantee these jobs to local people.

Head Start, Community Action Planning and other ventures supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity continue to relieve some of the problems of the tribe; yet much needs to be done. I feel a sense of optimism about the future, but find this feeling difficult to support except for certain material signs of an improved economy—new buildings, homes, roads and services. For many people, however, the basic problem of a meaningful job and a reliable income seem as far away as ever. New industries help, but still do not provide jobs for all who need them among a growing population. Employment reports still show high unemployment and a primary dependence on firefighting and other seasonal and sporadic kinds of wage labor for jobs. Robbins's study of the Heart Butte region does little to allay these fears. He reported that only 50 percent of the cash income reported by the members of his sample came from employment, another 20 percent derived from land leased to others and 30 percent of the income for these households came from welfare funds (Robbins 1968:198). Heart Butte is not representative of the whole reservation, but may well indicate the economic conditions in the underdeveloped rural areas.

A similarly gloomy view is expressed by local people in an application for the support of a Model Cities Program:

> The lack of Employment Opportunities is basic. Year round jobs are scarce. Available opportunities in this area are mostly seasonal, thus throwing many workers into a low income bracket. This is true of Indian and non-Indian alike. Jobs that do become available are oftentimes accompanied with unrealistic requirements, i.e., setting educational levels too high, years of experience for the job too extreme, or emphasis on racial preferences.
>
> There are not enough diverse fields of interest—no technical challenges. Work categories are numbered and few. Economic resources are undeveloped to a great extent. . . . Training is limited particularly in specialized fields. . . . Poor work habits must be overcome as job and training opportunities come forth. . . . A careless attitude has built up along with the feeling of uselessness. . . .
>
> The role of the male is decaying in the home due to this feeling of uselessness. The woman has taken on an increasing role in family providing and management. The male role must be revitalized if there is to be job success. Learning skills would be an encouragement. . . .
>
> Low income is prevalent on the Reservation, particularly among Indian families. Approximately 62% of the resident Indian families have annual incomes below $3,000.00, and the mean income is $1,700.00. It has been estimated that approximately 3,000 persons receive some form of welfare financial assistance during part of each year. In the case of large families, the assistance standards are sometimes actually competitive with available earned income, since many local jobs, cowpunching for example, pay far below minimum standard wages. . . .

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

sion to follow the rules made him think he had better leave again. "This town breaks you; too many friends that want money and rides here and there."

Candidates for council offices often make gifts of a dollar or two to prospective voters as evidence of their generosity, an act that is criticized if the man has not been helpful in the past. "At election time they're always willing to lend you a dollar, but after they're in they won't give you a nickel." Past generosity, however, can pay off. "They told me not to vote for him, that he wouldn't do a good job. I think that's right, but I voted for him anyway because he always helps people that need it." The feasting at Indian Days, bundle openings, song services, and the political rallies appears to be another form of generosity display.

Generosity can block successful economic adaptation. Ewers wrote that sharing and generosity survived in the 1940s and that the "drain of the 'have-nots' upon the 'haves' has the effect of limiting the economic progress of ambitious individuals" and possibly was "inhibiting the desire of fullbloods of extensive family connections to achieve material success" (Ewers 1955:321–322). In 1959 and 1960 three cases were known, and others reported, where land was sold for large sums of money. Relatives and friends moved in with the recipients and spent several days celebrating the sale. Some stayed to live with the now 'rich' friend or relative. This is reported to be a common practice that has caused the rapid depletion of such income and returned numerous, now landless, Indians to poverty and the welfare rolls.

Often this is more than economic reciprocity. It is a necessary adaptive arrangement for the poor. The economic flow may be one way with the returns, if any, very difficult to assess. In 1959 I visited the home of an elderly woman who had received a large oil bonus payment several years earlier. The money was held in trust by the B.I.A. and she was given regular payments from this account to cover her living expenses. She lived in a good house in town and had living with her at the time two adult sons and several grandchildren. Several other people seemed to come and go, including an elderly couple—a son-in-law by a previous marriage and his present wife. This wife told me that she came by occasionally to help with the housework, and that every week the old lady received her money from the superintendent. "She gives me $5.00, my husband $5.00 and $15.00 to her eldest son." It appeared that quite a few people were partially dependent upon her largess. When the old woman died it was discovered that her account was depleted and she was in debt. The household broke up, the people scattered to fend for themselves, and the now vacant house is falling apart. The reciprocity seemed to be mainly in chores and social support provided by a circle of dependent kin and friends.

The emphasis on generosity has still another face. Too much success, too much accumulation of unshared property, brings the quick reaction of gossip. "He's stingy." "He's trying to live like a white man." "They get all the cattle and won't let us have any." Only a very few who wish to be accepted by the Indian-oriented have been able to walk the fine line between stinginess and generosity. These few have become economically self-sufficient and yet retained a name for generosity among their following by judicious and controlled giving.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

171 erecting temporary traveling huts of poles, dog travois, and brush near Fort Union in 1833. There is, therefore, ample proof of the use of a dog travois foundation shelter by northern Plains Indians.
174 However, I am inclined to believe that the tipi probably was the
342 primary dwelling of the Blackfoot of the Pedestrian Culture Period. All available information, both traditional and comparative, points to the relative smallness of the homes of the pre-horse Blackfoot.

174 Nevertheless, it is possible that two or more families may have shared a single lodge in order to minimize the load to be transported.
592 In 1700, Le Sueur (1902, p. 187) noted that "two or three men with their families" lived in one buffaloskin lodge among the pedestrian
171 Sioux near present Mankato, Minn. Three quarters of a century later the elder Henry (1809, p. 309) observed that two to four families resided in a lodge among the horse-poor Assiniboin.

174 The baggage that could be carried by dogs and women, over and above the lodge itself, must have been very limited. Elaborate lodge
492 furnishings, numerous changes of clothing, extensive supplies of fresh
182 or dried meat, wild fruits and vegetables would have been excess baggage to the pre-horse Blackfoot. So probably would have been large and bulky medicine bundles, such as the natoas, medicine pipe, and beaver bundles of the late 19th century represented in museum collections today. If such bundles existed they probably were of less complex, more rudimentary form. The great bulk of the baggage
[795] must have consisted of articles essential to daily living. In the meagerness of its possessions the average Blackfoot family of the Pedestrian Culture Period must have resembled the poor family of 19th century buffalo days, and for the same basic reason—lack of facilities for transporting heavy loads when camp was moved.

492 The application of horse power to camp movement enabled the
182 Blackfoot to move farther and faster with heavier loads. The horse, packing 200 pounds on its back or hauling 300 pounds on the travois, could move four times the load of a heavily burdened dog twice as far in a day's march. Thus, animal for animal the horse was eight
[342] times as efficient as the dog as a burden bearer. Horse transport permitted the manufacture, use, and movement of lodges with larger and heavier covers and longer poles—larger Indian homes. Not only could the family of average means have a home of its own, but the wealthy family often possessed more than one lodge. Not only could essential possessions be moved, but bulky or heavy articles of only
[482] occasional use could be taken along. Women no longer were compelled to carry backbreaking burdens, but rode horseback and con-
[888] served their energies for other tasks. The aged and the physically handicapped could be carried on travois, and were no longer in danger of abandonment on the Plains by their able-bodied fellows.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-S (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

596 601 male speaker and *nisis.'*[a] for a female speaker).[1] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nuxki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 591 592 [601] The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, [593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow [606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a [587] male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among [735] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mustered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 602 601 Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would im- [124] ply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

---

[a] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in prestige as the number of major coups.

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth, and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses, there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. Moreover, after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial importance or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as warriors. Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children.

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for membership and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which membership gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis autonomous. Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping else-
[621] where. Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail
the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another
band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
[571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the
military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disad-
vantages of submission to authority.

596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the fam-
[603] ily. As a group there was little contact between the young and those of
grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent consider-
able time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kspile'puka*
("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms
of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the
rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[788] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under
extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When
transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the
rule of senior authority was modified when it was realized that senility had
appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative
role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relin-
quished.

556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic consider-
431 ations. It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
593 bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
554 practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an
expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often
phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To
be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the
family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for
horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to
a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where
an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave
abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kind-
ness to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning
from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The
practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long
as the younger."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

For the male, we observe a break between his relatively irresponsible life as a bachelor and his responsible position as head of a household. Furthermore, to many marriage tacitly meant giving up the warpath. Thus, war activities would be limited to economically unproductive forays which beat off enemy raids on the camp. To marry implied that one had sufficient horses and in a sense jeopardized one's future, for were these animals lost through an enemy raid, the owner was less free to go again on the warpath. The responsibility for the household was too great readily to be entrusted to another.

For the female there was also a break between the rôle of a daughter in the household of her parents and the rôle of wife in the tipi of her husband. This dichotomy was framed by the mother-in-law tabu, which necessitated her living either as wife or daughter but never both. Leaving the warm, affectionate, accepting relationship of a daughter to her mother she entered the strange tipi of her husband. Frequently this change was made at an early age to accustom her more quickly to the transition, but the change was, nevertheless, a traumatic one followed by frequent attempts to escape. Father and elder brothers were rigorous in policing the marriage contract and adopted measures to enforce it comparable to the breaking of a colt.

As a result of this negative attitude toward marriage on the part of both partners definite rewards had to be offered. A key to this is furnished by the kinship system. The male received enhanced status. By the brothers of his wife he was called *nistamo'* while he replied to them with *nistamox'kua*. The suffix *xkua*, also found in the word *nuxku'a* ("my son") implies depressing a person a generation in the sense of calling a person "child." Moreover, all children of the wife's brothers were "grandchildren" so that they honored him as "grandparent." In practice the relationship of husband to wife's brother did not always follow this pattern, for the concept of seniority dominated the kinship regulations. A brother of the wife older than her husband actually held the rein of authority, but it was a warm relationship between the two males which more nearly paralleled that of siblings. Frequently the sister and her husband camped near an older brother, where the husband helped with the horses and hunting. In turn when the husband became self-sufficient, a wife's younger brother might move to help him in maintaining his household. Thus a man increased the number of his siblings through marriage and hence his personal security.

For the woman there were also prestige rewards. By entering the tipi of her husband, she, too, received nominal enhancement of status. This was achieved by depressing a generation the husband's younger siblings, who became her "sons" and "daughters." In turn their children called her "grandmother." Though she had to pay respect to her husband's elders, the wives of these older brothers, and perhaps her husband's sisters, helped her

114
592
511

I showed that families with low and unstable incomes that were not clustered with others under a single roof were likely to reside on land owned by an elder kinsmen, and were likely to engage in intense economic cooperation with some other household or households. Thus, except for domicile, these exceptions fitted the multiple-family household form. In all, 36 (49 per cent) of the total sample of 73 households were involved in mutual economic assistance. Furthermore, 59 per cent of all 88 families in a sample taken in 1966 were involved in economic assistance networks. These economic data and the kin units that accompanied them highlighted the low order position of the sample households in the United States class structure. These findings and those of other field workers (Munsell 1967; Jorgensen 1970) let me to select economic factors as the main variables in the following analyses.

114
121

114
592
511

I found that economic resources greatly affect the cycle of families. Heart Butte District families began their history in a dependent status by residing with a parent of one of the spouses. As time passed, families eventually achieved independence during a period of the highest earning years (30's and 40's). Following this was a brief period of continuing independence when earnings or stable welfare incomes were sufficient to maintain separate households. The fourth and final stage grouped together dependent families, or parentless grandchildren, or chronically unemployed adult offspring, with aged

[592] persons in the ascending generation. I found that the simplicity or complexity of households was largely the result of economic conditions. Income, among those in my previous sample, was a better predictor of

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
511
114
121

family type than age of family heads. This hypothesis will be tested further in the forthcoming chapters. Resources--land, other capital, and jobs--are so meager that families must continually strive to assist one another by making the best of fluctuating resources. If family heads held steady jobs or enjoyed other stable resources, age would likely be a much better predictor of family type. However, Indian families generally cannot achieve the middle class position, characterized by nuclear families, for reasons already given and others that will be discussed in coming chapters.

114
121

In a previous analysis (Ibid 1968b) I also included a brief resume of my findings in Augusta, Montana, a small predominantly white town near the Blackfeet reservation. I showed that Augusta--also a rural satellite community--is steadily depopulating. More than 80 per cent of the young people leave Augusta permanently for urban centers. They leave because employment and business opportunities in their home community are far too scarce. They are able to seek and find training and employment because they have some financial backing from their families, are heavily imbued with middle-class values of striving and achievement, and they do not face race discrimination away from home, as do the Blackfeet.

Those who remain behind in August have stable incomes, with few exceptions. As a result there is but one multiple-family household in a sample of 128 households and few miscellaneous kin and non-kin crowded under a single roof. In Augusta small, single-family ranches are rapidly giving way to large corporate range enterprises. Many

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

114 121 elders remain, having sold out, to live out their years on Social Security and small investments. (One in five persons is 65 years of age or older.) Younger family heads, and often their spouses, work at steady jobs (Forest Service, local service and sales businesses, and schools). Augusta is in a similar environmental setting and has a comparable population to Heart Butte, but here the resemblances end. 114 592 511 191 Resources available to at least 50 per cent of the Blackfeet families are pathetically sparse because of neo-colonial policies, the nature of the United States political economy, and racial antagonism. Blackfeet households were found to be far more crowded because of unstable economic resources and, in addition, housing is much poorer than in Augusta. The growth of local and more distant metropolises (the ever-growing corporate or individual ranching interests) have had serious repercussions in Heart Butte and Augusta. But the burden shouldered by 167 114 the Blackfeet is much greater. Another other disadvantages suffered by the Blackfeet, I discovered that only about 40 per cent of the young Blackfeet reservation inhabitants leave the reservation and stay away, leaving the remaining, growing population to struggle with ever-diminishing per capita resources. However, the Heart Butte residents would very likely leave for urban centers to seek jobs if they did not have some protection and services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, access to Public Health Service facilities, and welfare income.

114 592 198 [121] My comparisons of the 1966 Blackfeet family cycle with the 1921 Blackfeet cycle showed that the two were very similar in types, mean ages of family heads for each type, and stages through which the families

114 passed. However, intra-family economic dependencies and household
592 population had increased. In Chapter III of this work I explore com-
178 parisons of 1921 and 1966 households in much greater detail. I double
127 the 1921 sample by including the Old Agency District farming and ranch-
128 ing cooperatives, acreages cultivated correlated with family type (a
121 test of my hypothesis concerning family types and economic resources not
made previously), racial ancestry of unsuccessful and relatively successful farmers, ranchers, and wage earners, among other topics.

114 I also analyzed Blackfeet family ethics, using twenty conjugal
593 pairs who were raising or had raised children in Heart Butte, and showed
591 that repeated exposures to a wide range of kinsmen, brought about mainly
593 by economic need, generate cooperativeness and generosity. At least 50
per cent of the families in my sample could not successfully pursue the
114 individualistic Protestant ethic because poverty thrusted them back on
577 kinsmen for economic support. I imputed a middle class ethic to those
511 who succeeded economically, based on my observations of their behavior.
[182] Families with incomes of approximately $4,000 per annum and up tended to
114 sever mutual economic assistance relationships and generally their re-
591 sources are consumed by the individual family unit. Automobiles, land,
593 houses and home improvements are purchased when possible. Generally a
511 strategy of individual family enrichment is pursued, at least during the period when these families are doing reasonably well.

114 And finally, I briefly assessed the authority positions of males
593 and females in the parental generation. Authority in the family was
562 strongly linked with control and ownership of family dwellings and the

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

CHAPTER II

THE RURAL DISTRICTS REVISITED

114
392

In my thesis and other papers I (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970) had demonstrated that amount and stability of Blackfeet family income are important factors in the formation of single and multiple-family households, in the composition of households, and in the developmental cycle of the family and made some predictions. At the time I predicted several specific multiple-family households would remain extended, whereas several others would probably fragment. I argued that fragmentation would occur because younger families would set up households of their own when their incomes increased and became more stable. These predictions can now be checked.

121
[109]

In 1970 I returned to the reservation and made a brief survey of the households sampled three years previously along with a few newcomers who had arrived in the Heart Butte area since my earlier study was completed. I sought to learn if the shifts predicted in my earlier analysis had occurred, if other shifts had occurred that had not been predicted, if new multiple-family households had formed and if sizable population shifts had taken place during my absence from the reservation. My results follow along with other analyses. The economic generalizations here are not based on income amounts, but on data concerning types and stability of income which were not explored in detail as in previous analyses. This follow-up study will add important data

121 to reservation research and will be a unique test of generalizations formerly based on a synchronic sample.

166 [125] [369] I found that 26 (38 per cent) of the rural households changed location from 1966 to 1970. This is an average of nine and one-half per cent of all households changing location each year which, compared with the national figure of twenty per cent represents a fairly stable residence pattern. Some families apparently moved away for several years, others moved away for one year or less and returned. Many moved from one to another location either within Heart Butte proper or within the rural reservation districts in general. The moves are complicated. A map depicting shifts in residence location would be so coursed with 128 lines of movement one would find it unreadable. I will therefore explain the movements in the light of economic and other but less critical motives for movement.

Tables 1 and 2 summarize (1) frequencies of household and family types in 1966, (2) the same cases residing in rural districts in 1970, and (3) all cases in the rural districts I knew about in 1970. These will be referred to specially after I discuss shifts in residence patterns.

166 During the period 1966 to 1970 seventeen households (nineteen families or remnant families)[1] moved out of the rural district. Thirteen moved to Browning, and so far as I was able to determine, they will remain there for a long while. Of the other six, one moved to Great

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24.]

[592]

[1]Henceforth the term "family" when referring to the samples studied here, will be used to cover "family" and "family remnants."

592
369
128

Table 1

THREE-HOUSEHOLD SAMPLES, RURAL 1966, RURAL 1970 (APPLIES ONLY TO THE 1966 RURAL CASES), AND ALL RURAL HOUSEHOLDS SAMPLED IN 1970

Household Type	1966		1970		1970 (All cases)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Independent Nuclear	39	57	35	66	38	63
Extended	14	20	6	11	7	12
Grandparent-Grandchild	7	10	2	4	2	3
Conjugal Pair	5	7	6	11	8	13
Single Person	2	4	4	8	5	9
Joint	1	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	68	100	53	100	60	100

592
369
128

Table 2

THREE FAMILY SAMPLES, RURAL 1966, RURAL 1970 (APPLIES ONLY TO THE 1966 RURAL CASES), AND ALL RURAL FAMILIES SAMPLED IN 1970

Family Type	1966		1970		1970 (All cases)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Independent Nuclear	39	47	35	60	38	57
Head Family*	14	17	6	10	7	10
Dependent Nuclear*	14	17	6	10	7	10
Grandparent-Grandchild	7	9	2	3	2	3
Conjugal Pair	5	6	6	10	8	13
Single Person	2	2	4	7	5	8
Joint*	2	2	0	0	0	0
Totals	83	100	59	100	67	100

*Indicates families occupying multiple-family households. These families comprise 36 per cent of all families in the 1966 sample, 20 per cent in the 1970 sample, and 20 per cent of all 1970 families samples in the rural area.

Falls, one to Kalispell, Montanta, two to Glasgow, Montana (one via Dallas, Texas), and one to Minnesota.

Ten of the nineteen families are independent nuclear, three grandparent-grandchild, two head families and two dependent nuclear, one conjugal pair, and one single person non-family.

I learned that seven new households were established in and near Heart Butte (representing ten families). Thus there is a net loss of eight households in the sampled area, or twelve per cent. Among the newcomers to come into Heart Butte proper, four came from Browning and three from other rural areas outside of Heart Butte (Birch Creek, Badger Creek). The general population shift is from less populated to more populated areas. Of the 26 households in my total rural sample that changed residence location, thirteen moved to Browning, five moved from one to another location within Heart Butte proper, five to towns near the reservation (Kalispell and Glasgow, Montana), two from outlying rural areas into Heart Butte, and one shifted from Heart Butte to Cut Bank, Montana, and back to Heart Butte.

Generally movements are from less to more populated regions, although there are some reverse shifts as I have mentioned. I also note that only one family moved out of Montana permanently. All others remain fairly close to the reservation and they plan to return for the annual Indian Days celebration and more importantly to visit kin and friends who remain on the reservation. Those who move to more populated areas are motivated chiefly by a desire to secure employment, but some move to be near kin or non-kin for economic aid or to be near schools

the over-riding cause is, I submit, low economic resources. It seems likely that families would remain in scattered homesites if they could afford to do so. Limited family resources force families to move nearer federal welfare and health services so that their distress is somewhat lessened. This dependency is part of the neo-colonial syndrome. I do not here decry the federal and state welfare and the federal health services given; I simply point out that restricted access to economic resources throws the low income families on the mercy of these services and revenues.

Alterations in Household Types and Shifting Composition: 1966 and 1970

Here I follow the alterations in household types over a period of four years for each household type. The analysis will lend some support to the family cycle inferred from the earlier sample and the relationship between economics and household types.

Independent Nuclear Family Households

In 1967 I visited 39 independent nuclear family households outside of Browning. In 1970, 34 remained nuclear family households. Fourteen of the 39 had changed location. Five of the households had transformed into new household types (see Diagram I).

Diagram I shows the direction in which transitions occur. Elder heads or miscellaneous kin have established single person households in three cases; a woman with an illegitimate child married and set up a nuclear household, while an elder head and his spouse assumed the care

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594

Diagram I

HOUSEHOLD TRANSFORMATIONS, FIVE FORMERLY INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR FAMILIES, RURAL BLACKFEET HOUSEHOLDS, 1970

Case #1. Nuclear	Independent Nuclear Dependent Nuclear Single Person
Case #2. Nuclear	Independent Nuclear Single Person
Case #3. Nuclear (deaths)	Remaining male remarried and established nuclear household.
Case #4. Nuclear	Grandparent-Grandchild Daughter married, Independent Nuclear
Case #5. Nuclear	Single Person (Divorce, male's child moved to mother's residence in nuclear household)

592 594 of two grandchildren and created a grandparent-grandchild household. The other members of these households fissioned into nuclear and dependent nuclear families. The composition of one household (Case #3) changed because a woman and her only child were killed in an auto accident. The widower moved to Browning, and set up a nuclear household by marrying a divorcee and assuming care of her children.

592 128 594 The shifts evident in Diagram I are toward fission of diverse household members. Elders become heads of late stage types (single person and grandparent-grandchild) and younger persons become members of dependent or independent nuclear families. The data presented here also indicate a rate of transition among independent nuclear families of about three per cent per year. I suspect, based on previous observations, that these changes occur frequently.

592 594 603 [428] [591] Grandparent-Grandchild Households

This household form is somewhat more changeable than I had suspected during my earlier visit to the rural region. Grandparents who assume the care of grandchildren oftentimes provide for grandchild inheritance of grandparental properties, and the relationship is almost identical to a parent-child association. Yet in two cases parents whose marital and financial circumstances markedly improved, reclaimed their children, and in another case a grandchild moved into the household of a married female cousin. The remaining four grandparent-grandchild households remain of this type. Here we see then, three formerly grandparent-grandchild households moving into the final

592 594 603 stages of the family cycle. Two became conjugal pair households and one became a single person household. We see from these data that household response to economic variables--stable and moderately sufficient funds--is most predictable and sensitive.

592 594 Conjugal Pairs

Two of the five conjugal pairs changed. One became a single person household whereas the other joined an extended family household. The latter direct a modest ranching operation, and because age largely incapacitated the male head, a married daughter and her spouse and offspring moved in to keep the livestock business intact. The other three conjugal pairs remain the same.

592 596 Joint Family Households

The single joint family household, which consisted of married sisters (one spouseless) with their children and the spouse of one of the sisters, soon disbanded, as I had suspected. Each family head lives in a separate household. One woman remarried and resides with her children and husband in the center of Heart Butte, while the other lives in a welfare-provided trailer near her mother's family and is part of a mutual assistance land cluster. No new joint family household formed during my absence.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
596

Extended Family Household

The least stable household type, the one in which composition shifts occur most frequently, is the extended family. The central cause of transitions from this form to another is the economic independence achieved by the guest families (practically always younger than the head family). Diagram II depicts a very definite trend toward independence of formerly dependent families. In one case only did the death of an elder head bring about a transition. I predicted that nine extended family households would not long remain in their extended form, principally because it seemed to me that young dependent families in these households would soon find some economic means of supporting themselves independent of their elders. My prediction proved accurate in eight of these cases (see Diagram II). One case did not meet my expectations because the head of the dependent family could not secure permanent employment. One case, #5, changed in a direction not predicted. The young dependent family head divorced his wife, whereupon she moved to Browning with her children to live with her step-grandmother, thus establishing a new dependency relationship. The young male remains with his spouseless and elderly father in Heart Butte. Furthermore, the elderly man's household grew even larger when his nephew's family moved in in a dependency relationship. So, although this household remains extended, it is so with different sets of kin relationships. All households but one, then, have fitted my earlier predictions. This is no fluke, I assert, but demonstrates that economic factors are critical in determining family household forms.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

592
596

Diagram II

HOUSEHOLD, TRANSFORMATIONS, EIGHT FORMERLY EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, RURAL DISTRICT BLACKFEET HOUSEHOLDS, 1970

Case #1.	Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #2.	Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #3.	Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #4.	Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #5.	Extended	Extended (hosting married nephew)
Case #6.	Extended	Independent Nuclear (former elder head deceased)
Case #7.	Extended	Grandparent-Grandchild Independent Nuclear
Case #8.	Extended	Conjugal Pair Independent Nuclear

592
596 Recombinations and splintering of kin units follow economic exigencies very closely. This process is part of an underclass, neo-colonial relationship to the larger society.

Case #6 changed from extended to nuclear because of the death of the elder, spouseless male head. The formerly dependent family now heads the household, caring for dependent offspring of the deceased elder. I predicted that his household would remain extended (not taking into account the death of the elder head); my prediction was technically accurate.

592
596
128 We see from the cases listed in Diagram II that transitions occur essentially as predicted. Six cases fissioned from extended forms to nuclear (for younger families), and nuclear, grandparent-grandchild, or conjugal pairs among former elder extended family household heads. The heads of younger families obtained some form of stable economic resources and pursued independence according to their desires to achieve independence and live alone with their families. The elders who remain behind are forced to support themselves as best they can without benefit of the mutual economic aid that existed prior to splintering. Several of the younger families still give or receive aid but not to the degree found when the families were together sharing a single dwelling. Achieving families break out of the multiple-family household, pursue a quasi-middle class way of life by keeping most of what they have to sustain independence. As years pass and earnings decline, they once again become involved in mutual economic assistance relationships by hosting a younger family.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

596
182
128

we turn to the 75 cases recorded in 1970, nineteen are in land clusters and 22 are in extended family households. Thus, the 41 mutually dependent units represent 55 per cent of the total. In 1966, 59 per cent of all families were mutually dependent, only four per cent above the 1970 cases. Statistically there is no significance in the four per cent difference. The economic picture, therefore, has not changed appreciably in the four-year sampling period embraced by this study.

So, while some young families manage to break out of the extended family household or land clusters once reasonably stable incomes are acquired, new dependencies are formed through reshuffling and reorganization of existing families. The family cycle, which is largely dependent on economic relationships, remains rather as it was in 1966, as this follow-up study has shown.

Conclusions

596
182
128

This chapter has dealt with families restudied in 1970. In the four years between 1966 and 1970, families and households moved, splintered, recombined largely because of economic conditions. Economic variables are overwhelmingly important in determining household forms, which gives added support to my previous findings. These findings demonstrate that underclass relationships of mutual economic dependencies remain essentially as in 1966 among poorer families. There has been no significant improvement in over-all economic conditions. The families studied here have not realized a basic alteration in job opportunities. The same basic economic features remain--some permanent

(434)

and seasonal jobs, a high dependency on welfare, and partial reliance on leased land revenues. A few families moved off the reservation and gained independence, although these, except one, are near enough to the reservation to frequent tribal festivities and to visit their kin and friends. These families can easily move to the reservation if necessary to reap the benefits of mutual aid from their kin.

The model of the United States class structure described and set down in Chapter I applies to the data presented here. We have seen in this brief chapter how Blackfeet families strive to attain a middle-class niche. To do so a stable income of at least $4,000 per annum is required for a single family. In my work and in Jorgensen (1971) and Munsell (1967) it has been demonstrated that household size generally declines with rising per capita income, which indicates single family independence. Based on my earlier findings and partially upon the findings in 1970, the Blackfeet move toward independence as the family cycle progresses into the middle years. For perhaps a decade or two many families realize a quasi-middle-class existence (see Robbins 1968a for discussion of the family cycle). I term this status position "quasi-middle-class" because families must always keep an eye on the future by maintaining strong kin ties in the event that mutual economic aid is needed. One cannot break these ties entirely without jeopardizing potential economic assistance sometime in the history of his family. Kin ties, then, are strengthened and jeopardized by economic exigencies. One must be on hand to receive and give assistance because few can depend on available resources for self-maintenance throughout the cycle

592
182
128 of the family. Blackfeet movement up and down the class structure ladder is both fluid and predictable. Generally an underclass position of relative poverty, kin-network inter-dependency, and economic uncertainty prevails.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

●592
128

Table 3

OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICT HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES FOR THE YEAR 1921

Old Agency District			Heart Butte District		
Household Type	Frequency	Per Cent	Household Type	Frequency	Per Cent
Independent Nuclear	57	68	Independent Nuclear	55	65
Extended Family Household	11	13	Conjugal Pair	16	19
Conjugal Pair	9	11	Extended	8	9
Grandparent-Grandchild	3	4	Joint	3	3
Single Person	3	4	Single Person	1	2
	83	100.0	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 84	2 1000
Family Type			**Family Type**		
Independent Nuclear	57	59	Independent Nuclear	55	56
Head Family in Extended Family Household	11	12	Conjugal Pair (Household)	16	17
Dependent Nuclear	11	12	Head Family in Extended Family Household	8	8
Conjugal Pair (Household)	9	9	Joint	7	7
Single Person (Household)	3	3	Dependent Nuclear Family	6	6
Dependent Conjugal Pair	2 84	2 100.0	Dependent Conjugal Pair	4	4
			Single Person (Household)	1	1
			Grandparent-Grandchild	1 98	1 1000

128 3.98 and 4.42 for the Old Agency District households. Using a test which determines the Significance of the Difference Between Medians, I find that there is no statistically significant different. I therefore conclude that the two populations, which are geographically adjacent and part of the same reservation, do indeed represent the same sampling population and that the survey was systematic in its inclusion of data. The meticulousness of the data collection and the comparability of the data from the two districts embolden me to use the combined data in comparisons with my intensive data from the present rural areas. I will, however, note some important economic differences between the populations. I will analyze farming and ranching in the Old Agency District in considerable detail since it was in this district that the greatest share of farming and considerable ranching was conducted. The largest ranching operations on the reservation in 1921 were conducted in the area missing from available survey records.

592 128 162

General Description and Demography

In all there were 821 persons recorded for the 167 households which comprised the two populations (425 persons in the Old Agency District's 83 households and 396 persons in the Heart Butte District's 84 households). The median number of persons per household for the combined sample was 4.15 (half of the households had more than this figure and half had fewer than this figure). The combined household and family types for the two populations is shown in Table 4.

596 128

The 194 families were distributed thus: two families resided

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
128

Table 4

167 HOUSEHOLDS AND 194 FAMILES, OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICTS FOR THE YEAR 1921

	Frequency	Per Cent
Household Type		
Independent Nuclear	112	67
Conjugal Pair	25	15
Extended Family Household	19	12
Single Person	4	2
Grandparent-Grandchild	4	2
Joint	3	2
Totals	167	100.0
Family Type		
Independent Nuclear	112	58
Conjugal Pair (Household)	25	13
Head Family (Extended Family Household)	19	10
Dependent Nuclear	17	8
Dependent Conjugal Pair	6	3
Joint	7	4
Grandparent-Grandchild	4	2
Single Person	4	2
Totals	194	100.0

596 and therefore lumped them together in this comparison.
128

Bar Graph 1 shows that 52 per cent of those in the Old Agency and Heart Butte districts fell within the 0-21 age group, 44 per cent
162 in the 22 to 64 interval and four per cent were 65 or older. The 1966
178 demographic curves, based on my research in Heart Butte and the rural districts nearby, show that 60 per cent of the population is 21 or younger, about 35 per cent are between 22 and 64 and only five per cent are 65 and over.

161 The tribal population has increased from 3,300 in 1927 to 12,200
162 in 1970. Over 6,400 members still reside on the reservation (almost double the 3,300 who, for the most part, lived on the reservation in 1927); about 5,800 live off the reservation. This increase also shows up in household population figures in my past and present samples.
592 Median household size in the 1921 rural districts was 4.2; in 1966 it
162 was 5.8, a 38 per cent increase. Multiple-family household size has
596 gone from 6.0 to 7.3, a 22 per cent increase. Both of these figures
162 are statistically significant at below the .05 level. Additionally,
128 but less significant statistically, there is an eight per cent increase
596 in the number of families in multiple-family households. The meanings of these highly critical comparisons will be brought out momentarily, but first I compare the number of miscellaneous dependents in the past and present households in the rural districts.

Tables 5 and 6 compare types and numbers of miscellaneous
592 dependents in the 1921 and 1966 households. They reveal that the 1966
162 rural households have a considerably higher percentage of miscellaneous
128

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50]

592 162 188 dependents than the 1921 households. Of all sample households in 1966, 21 (33 per cent) have miscellaneous dependents, yet only fifteen (9 per cent) of the households in 1921 had such dependents. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

Another and more revealing comparison shows that the eighteen miscellaneous kin or non-kin in the 1921 households comprised only about two per cent of the total household population while the 33 miscellaneous dependents in 1966 account for eight per cent of the total of 394 persons.

592 161 128 These figures show that, if this trend continues, one-third or more of the households in the future are likely to have miscellaneous kin or non-kin who are not part of the immediate nuclear family kin unit and that one in ten (and likely more) persons will end up in the household of someone other than his own or that of his parents. In the past, 592 161 128 736 one in seven households had miscellaneous kin or non-kin and one in fifty persons was a dependent of this type. Only three of the nineteen miscellaneous dependents in the households of the past were younger than 21 while 24 of 33 in 1966 are younger than 21. Most of the 24 are with someone other than their parents because of illegitimate births, [134 113 65] marital separations, and overcrowding. Young dependents are an economic asset to those who host them (excepting their parents who often are not married or have too many mouths to feed as it is) because their presence qualifies the hosts for ADC payments. There has been a definite relative and absolute reduction of older miscellaneous dependents. Erstwhile older dependents are presently heading grandparent-grandchild or multiple-family households. A reduction of childhood mortality rates

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 51]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
136

Table 5

MISCELLANEOUS DEPENDENTS IN 15 BLACKFEET HOUSEHOLDS, RURAL DISTRICTS, 1921*

Household Type	Relationship (if any) to Male or Female Head
Independent Nuclear	Niece
Independent Nuclear	Mother and maternal grandmother
Independent Nuclear	Mother
Independent Nuclear	Brother
Independent Nuclear	Mother-in-law
Independent Nuclear	Mother-in-law
Independent Nuclear	Father and mother
Independent Nuclear	Unrelated adult male
Independent Nuclear	Sister
Independent Nuclear	Sister-in-law, unrelated young adult male
Independent Nuclear	Unrelated young male
Single Person	Sister
Extended	Unrelated adult female, sister-in-law
Extended	Grandson
Joint	Sister

Total households: 15 Total Dependents: 19

*All of the persons listed in this table and Table 6 have neither spouse nor offspring.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
736

Table 6

MISCELLANEOUS DEPENDENTS IN 21 RURAL BLACKFEET HOUSEHOLDS, 1966

Household Type	Relationship (if any) to Male or Female Head
Independent Nuclear	Grandson
Independent Nuclear	2 granddaughters
Independent Nuclear	Father
Independent Nuclear	2 nieces, 1 nephew
Independent Nuclear	Brother
Independent Nuclear	Granddaughter, grandson
Independent Nuclear	Grandson
Independent Nuclear	Father-in-law
Independent Nuclear	Granddaughter, 2 nephews
Independent Nuclear	Grandson
Independent Nuclear	Grandson
Independent Nuclear	Grandson
Independent Nuclear	Female spouse's step-grandfather
Independent Nuclear	Female spouse's brother
Independent Nuclear	Nephew
Independent Nuclear	2 grandsons
Independent Nuclear	Father, mother-in-law, niece, nephew
Extended	Grandson, granddaughter

592
736

Table 6 (Continued)

Household Type	Relationship (if any) to Male or Female Head
Extended	2 unrelated young adult males
Extended	Brother to daughter-in-law
Conjugal Pair	Father-in-law

Total Households: 21 Total Dependents: 33

592 partially accounts for this higher percentage of young miscellaneous
161 dependents but we also note that youngsters resulting from illegitimate
128 unions, overcrowding, and divorces are beneficial economically to their
736 hosts. Overall poor economic conditions appear to contribute most to
735 illegitimacies, divorces, overcrowding and the high incidence of ADC
182 payments. These relationships will be more fully discussed toward the end of this chapter.

Economics

121 How I turn to economic indicators in order to test hypotheses about household composition and economic resources, to see if household responsiveness to economic resources was as strong in the past as in the present.

129 Data concerning the economics of the rural households of 1921
434 pertained mainly to farming, gardening, ranching and a few agricultural and non-agricultural jobs. Here the two rural districts of 1921, so similar in household compositions, population, and family cycle, differed greatly as to the number of persons farming, acres cultivated,
128 and the number of livestock and other domesticated animals kept. I will present some data by way of comparisons of the two districts, then proceed to analyze each in some detail concerning <u>who</u> farmed, how many acres were under cultivation, the number of livestock kept, the racial composition of farming and ranching family heads and their spouses, and
433 the specific resources available to the families. It will be seen quite readily that Old Agency District was far more productive

433 districts is partially accounted for by better agricultural conditions in Old Agency District; there land is more open, less rocky, and enjoys more frost-free days than in the Heart Butte District.

423 241 Families that farmed in Old Agency District cultivated an average of 23.3 acres, with a range of one to 234. Heart Butte District farms averaged only about five acres, with a range of less than an acre to 50 acres. Of the 98 families in the Heart Butte District only 40 162 592 farmed or ranched, a 41 per cent representation. The 40 families made 592 474 up 34 households; 38 of the families farmed or ranched in cooperation with other families. Only two families farmed or ranched alone. The 38 cooperative farming and ranching families comprised sixteen co-op units, eleven of which were composed of related families in multiple-family households (fathers-married sons, fathers--married daughters, mothers-married sons, mothers-married daughters). One of these formed the only 474 [433] ranching unit (co-op or otherwise) recorded in the district. Each of the eleven formed a single cooperative unit. Of all the families involved in the co-ops, 26 were closely related; twelve were not related (see Diagrams IV and V).

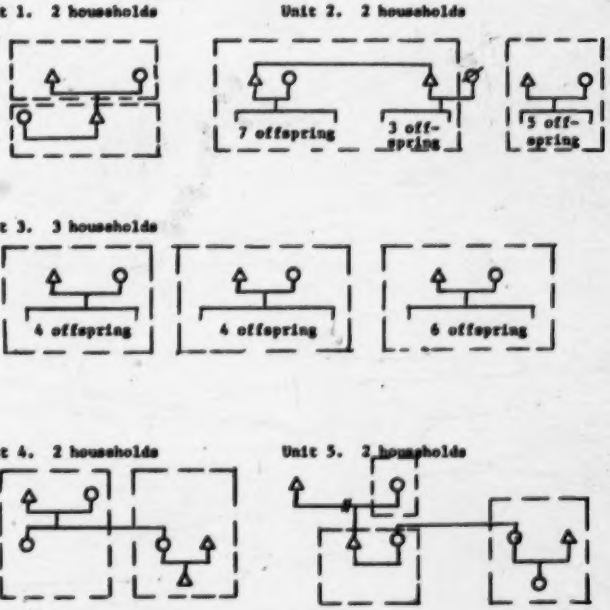
127 I use here principally the data recorded in the Old Agency District regarding farming and ranching because there was considerably more 128 agricultural activity in that district. Because of this, I have enough data with which to test postdictive hypotheses about the formation of multiple-family households and agricultural co-ops. The data allow for generalizations about who was farming, the age of the family head or his or her spouse (if any), the number of acres cultivated, animals kept,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 64]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Diagram IV

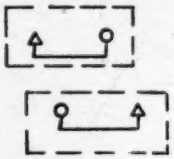
SIXTEEN FARMING AND RANCHING CO-OPS, HEART BUTTE DISTRICT, 1921[a]



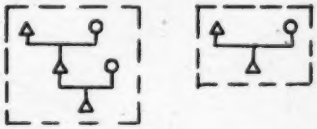
592
474
471

Diagram IV (Continued)

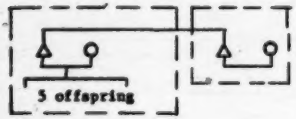
Unit 6. 2 households



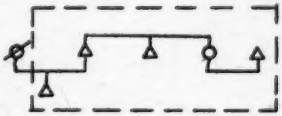
Unit 7. 2 households



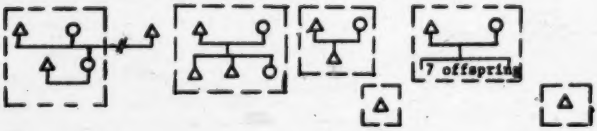
Unit 8. 2 households



Unit 9. 1 household



Unit 10. 6 households

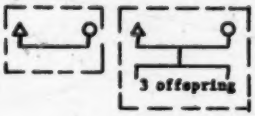


13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

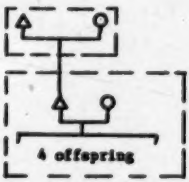
592
474
471

Diagram IV (Continued)

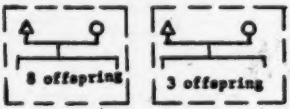
Unit 11. 2 households



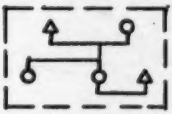
Unit 12. 2 households



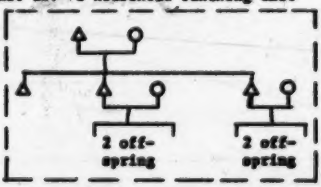
Unit 13. 2 households



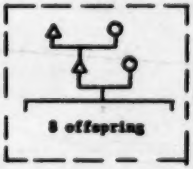
Unit 14. 1 household



Unit 15. 1 household ranching unit



Unit 16. 1 household



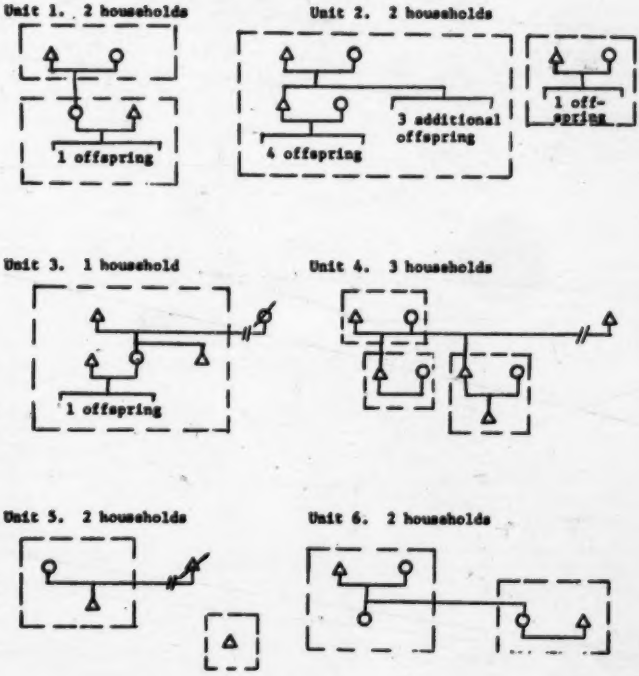
*These are multiple and single family units, household boundaries are outlined in broken lines.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
474
471

Diagram V

TWENTY-ONE FARMING AND RANCHING CO-OPS,
OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 1921[a]

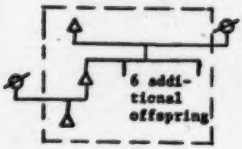


13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

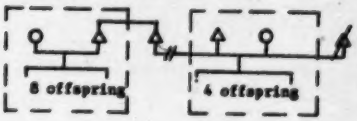
SR2
414
411

Diagram V (Continued)

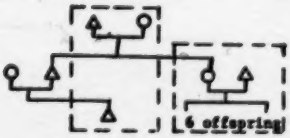
Unit 7. 1 household



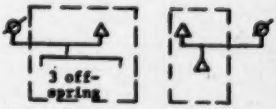
Unit 8. 2 households



Unit 9. 2 households

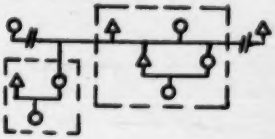


Unit 10. 2 households



Unit 11. 2 households

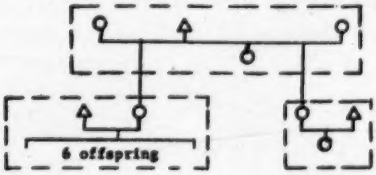
Unit 12. 2 households



592
474
471

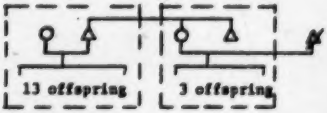
Diagram V (Continued)

Unit 13. 3 households--polygynous household in ascending generation.

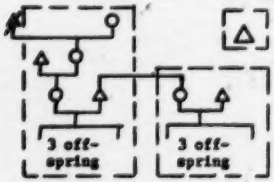


Unit 14. 1 household

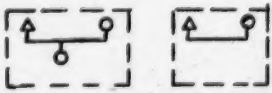
Unit 15. 2 households



Unit 16. 3 households



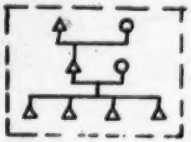
Unit 17. 2 households



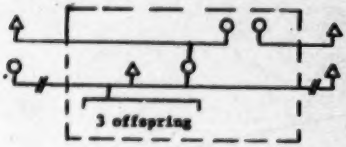
592
414
411

Diagram V (Continued)

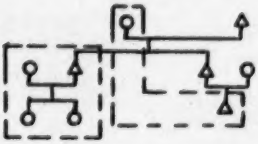
Unit 18. 1 household



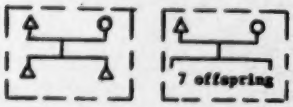
Unit 19. 1 household



Unit 20. 2 households



Unit 21. 2 households



*These are multiple and single family units. Household boundaries are outlined by broken lines.

Close inspection of Diagrams IV and V reveals that though the families were strongly urged to farm on an individual basis, they nonetheless found it to their advantage in both districts to pool labor, equipment, and land so that permanent or seasonal mutual assistance groups were formed. Secondly, of the farm co-ops, a preponderance were composed of related families. Relationships among those forming co-ops were close, as the diagrams show. Moreover, it is evident that land ownership was critical in the formation of cooperatives and in determining the settlement pattern. A similar pattern survives, indeed is fully entrenched, today in the land clusters analyzed in Chapter II. Meager resources persist as do kin units which cluster around these resources. This is a long-standing pattern of prolonged impoverishment.

The related families in the cooperatives lived with or near each other. Those unrelated families that joined into cooperatives did not possess land suitable for farming; many, in fact, are recorded as moving from the foothills to valleys from season to season so that they could unite with other families to pool labor for planting and harvesting, yet lived by their own devices during the remainder of the year. An extreme example of far-reaching cooperation is Unit Number 9 in Diagram IV which consisted of six households, three of which were related. They collectively farmed a total of but 45 acres in the Heart Butte District.

Some Comparisons with the 1966 Sample--The Heart Butte District Past and Present

The following comparisons of agricultural pursuits in the past and in 1966 deal only with the Heart Butte District. In the Heart Butte

District in 1921 four extended family households (nine families) and one joint family household (two families) farmed or ranched to make up five separate cooperative units. This accounts for eleven of 23 families in multiple-family households, just under half of the total. I cannot be certain if each family co-op which resided under a single roof joined together for the sole purposes of farming and ranching. It is my impression that only one of the five households had formed a multiple-family unit before the 1921 farm program began. This is the three-family household which, according to the survey records, had been operating a cattle ranch for several years prior to 1921.

In the following 2 x 2 table (Table 7) I test to determine if families were joining under a single roof for the express purpose of mutually exploiting agricultural resources. The entire Heart Butte sample is included. Though the distribution in the table is not statistically significant there is an indication that families were beginning to consolidate agricultural resources. The twelve families in multiple-family households in the lower left quadrant of Table 7 were likely consolidating non-agricultural resources (federal annuities, meager cash, dwellings and dwelling land). It should be stressed that it is not necessary for families to live under a single roof in order to pool their resources and vice versa. I will show in the following discussion of current land use (and as was shown in Chapter II) that families (1) join resources to use land for productive enterprises, and (2) cluster in separate households on an elder kinsman's land to avoid payment of lease money for land use and rental of dwelling and to be near kinsmen

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

592
414
128

Table 7

MULTIPLE-FAMILIES AND FARMING OR RANCHING

	Family In Multiple-Family Households	In Single Family Households	
Farming or Ranching	11	29	40
Not Farming or Ranching	12	46	58
	23	75	98

τ_c = .030, X^2 (not significant)

592 474 for purposes of sharing meager incomes.

Ranching is a productive and at least marginally profitable current pursuit on the reservation. In 1966, only three of the 1921 Heart Butte District cooperative ranching units were still viable. These are units one, five and fifteen. See Diagram VI for a schematic ordering of these units. The head of the conjugal pair in the descending generation in unit Number 1 now ranches on his deceased father-in-law's land (land inherited by the female spouse) in cooperation with his son-in-law. These extant units are diagrammed as follows, along with an additional separate single family unit.

Units 5 and 1, like the 1921 units discussed and diagrammed above, are cooperative in nature, but mutual assistance relationships do not tie all the current households together in direct lines. The relationships which obtain between units 5 and 1 require detailed analysis to show how the persons are tied together economically, how the units manage resources, and the forms of assistance that are necessary for profitable use of resources.

423 592 474 178 128 Land tenure divides the units into three separate enterprises. All families in Number 1 live on land owned by the female in the G^0 generation, though leased acreage also is used in the ranching operation. Numbers 5 and 17, too, own and lease land. Using land, then, as the criterion for unit boundaries, there are three distinct units. But

46 592 474 178 128 if, as is done for the 1921 co-ops, mutual assistance is the criterion, then there are two distinct units (1 and 5) and an intermediary household (17) which cooperates with the other two. There is no direct

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 70]

Diagram VI

COOPERATIVE RANCHING UNITS, HEART BUTTE DISTRICT,
1921 AND 1966

a = son-in-law to male in Number 5. Stands in intermediary relationship between Number 5, Number 1, and Household A.

A = Extended family household headed by son-in-law to Male in ascending generation in Number 1.

B = Extended family household headed by divorced daughter of male in ascending generation of Number 1.

..... = Indicates mutual assistance with land, livestock and labor.

___ = Indicates boundaries of households.

mutual assistance between 1 and 5.

Land owned by Number 17 is contiguous with land owned by Number 1. Number 17 provides equipment and labor for Number 1 and receives a portion of the hay crop in return for his services. The same assistance is given to Number 5, and 5, in turn, gives a portion of his crops to Number 17.

The conjugal pairs in the G^0 generation who head units 1 and 5 are conjugal pairs in the first descending generation in the same units in the 1921 sample. The extended family household, indicated by the letter A and headed by a male in the G^1 generation, provides more than half of the labor for unit Number 1. Extended family "B", headed by a divorced female in generation G^1 is only casually involved in the ranch operation. She owns a few cattle and her former spouse assisted with labor.

The income from these three enterprises is not substantial, quantity of land and livestock are not sufficient to maintain individual families. The male in G^0 (unit Number 1) could not sustain himself without help from his son-in-law and male "a." The two males with large families both drive school buses in the winter months to supplement their income and the female spouse of the head of extended family A works part-time to bring in additional needed income. Furthermore, the dependent nuclear family in extended family household A set up a separate household on the paternal grandmother's land while I was in Heart Butte in 1967. The young male now works in Browning full-time. The female head in extended family household B receives ADC, and her

592 434 464 (65) married daughter receives an allowance from her spouse who is in the U. S. Army. Thus, the cattle enterprises described in detail here are closely interlocked with one another and the enterprises themselves are clearly not sufficiently productive to support the large number of persons in the co-op units.

128 434 592 (65) The Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates that at least 200 cattle (a self-sustaining herd) and approximately twenty acres per animal are necessary to support a single, debt-free family. On this basis, the five households in Diagram VI would need a combined total of 1,000 animals and 20,000 acres (on a per household basis). I do not know the specific number of animals or acres now controlled, but I do know that resources, in each case, are marginal. The fact that supplemental cash resources are needed (wage labor, ADC, etc.) and that intensive pooling of labor and equipment is conducted, attest to shortages of agricultural and financial resources. Ranching by itself does not provide these families with sufficient incomes; other sources are needed to allow them some independence.

592 464 233 I have not as yet discussed unit Number 15 in the 1921 sample. This unit is still viable, as I mentioned below, and was until 1970 headed by the unmarried male shown in the diagram of the 1921 co-op. I did not interview the now deceased older head, but I learned that he operated a ranch with two married sons, both of whom lived adjacent to their father's home. The three families controlled more than 20,000 acres of heirship land and land leased from others. This unit shows that the 1921 pattern of operating the ranch with lineal kin linked

agnatically has persisted to the present. Unit 15 is unusually prosperous insofar as Blackfeet-owned and controlled ranching units are concerned. Since the death in 1970 of the elder head, the enterprise continues. It is now operated by the two married sons who remain on the ranch.

How to achieve land consolidation among Blackfeet ranchers has long been a pressing problem. Since allotment the extent of land parcels has diminished with each passing generation. Unit 15 was established by a White man married to an allotted full-blood Blackfeet woman. The man was acquainted with ranching techniques and capitalization. As years passed he and his son leased more and more Blackfeet heirship land adjacent to their own; they raised sheep initially but soon shifted to cattle. The cards were stacked in favor of this operation from the start; tribal members in the same district simply did not possess the technical and financial resources to compete effectively. Here is a case in which substantial, rather than meager or moderate, resources bring families together in mutual cooperation over a long period of time.

Old Agency District Economics

It was stated below that only 40 of the families farmed or ranched in the Heart Butte District in 1921 while 77 per cent of the families in the Old Agency District were active agriculturally.

My effort here is to use the detailed acreage data to make a test of the hypothesis that meager resources correlate with inter-family and

121 intra-household co-ops. In the discussion and analysis of Heart Butte
128 District families and households, it was demonstrated that co-ops formed to exploit meager resources, but I was unable to make a statistical test that would convincingly confirm relationships between measurable quantitative data and family types. Fortunately, I am able to perform such a test with the Old Agency District data.

128 Of the 74 farming and ranching families, 45 were in co-ops; 37
454 of these were closely related (82 per cent). Twenty-six of the 38
592 farming and ranching co-op families in the Heart Butte District were closely related, or 70 per cent. Hence, the two districts were similar in the relatedness of families that formed co-ops. Furthermore, the co-ops in the Heart Butte District averaged 2.2 families and in the Old Agency District the average was 2.3, another similarity. These figures suggest that there was a general limit to the number of families that could receive some benefits from consolidating meager acres, but it might also indicate the number of available parties that could join in farming with others. The greatest number of families in any Old Agency District co-op was four compared with an extreme of six in the Heart Butte District. In both of these there were single males with some land which increased the number of families per unit. It can readily be seen from the co-op diagrams that most co-ops cluster near the average of 2.2 and 2.3 families per unit.

62 In the entire Old Agency District there were 24 multiple-family
454 households. Twenty-two of these formed co-ops (92 per cent). This is
592 a very high percentage, higher than the representative percentage in

the Heart Butte District. We will see that these multiple-family farming co-ops cultivated fewer acres per family than single family farming units; hence these cases lend strong support to my hypothesis that the fewer the resources per family the more likely families are to joing together for mutual aid.

Another and more critical comparisons shows that of the 74 farming and ranching families in the Old Agency District, 43 formed co-ops (60 per cent) and many of these, like their Heart Butte District counterparts, are closely related. Thus 40 per cent of the farming and ranching families in the Old Agency District worked without assistance from other families, while only two families in the Heart Butte District farmed or ranched alone. This comparison strongly supports my hypothesis because we saw that the average number of acres under cultivation in the Heart Butte District was but five while in the Old Agency District the average was 23.3; hence the more acres, the less the likelihood of participation in mutual family enterprises.

None of the families in the Old Agency District was truly prosperous, yet some, because of above average resources, were able to remain to themselves on a self-sustaining basis. My first statistical test attempts to determine if 36 or more acres resulted in the independence of those who managed resources of this extent. Table 8 tests the hypothesis that families cultivating 36 or more acres are likely to farm without assistance from others. I wish to show here the affect that far above average resources have on family cooperation with others. This distribution points out almost the reverse of what one might

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 76]

128
494
592
241

Table 8

ACRES CULTIVATED AND PARTICIPATION IN CO-OPS. OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 74 FAMILIES, 1921

	36 or more acres	Less than 36 acres	
Families Farming Alone	7	22	29
Farming with Other Families	1	44	45
	8	66	74

$\gamma_c = .126$; $X^2 = 9.55$; p .01

128 414 241 592 expect--that the more acres cultivated the more hands required to do the job, but I point out that since only the exceptional family cultivated as much as 235 acres, it seems that individual families with equipment and teams of horses were quite able to manage their acreages. Presumably their resources, cash or otherwise, permitted an economically independent existence. That these families could have sought or offered aid even in the absence of nearby kin is clear. Others farmed with non-kin; although kin aid was the nearly universal practice.

241 464 128 The one exception--the party in the lower left quadrant of the table--shared its harvest from its 235 acres with a hired hand and his family. The hired hand, who owned no land, merely received payment for his labor. One could eliminate this case from the list of co-ops by arguing that share-cropping is here a wage. I have chosen to label this case a co-op unit because of the comments made in the survey volume; there was a strong indication of mutual assistance between these unrelated families.

596 414 182 No multiple-family household in either dirtrict cultivated more than twenty acres. Again, the hypothesis is supported: families cooperate mutually to exploit meager resources and the obverse is that the greater the resources (up to a point) the greater the occurrence of independent nuclear family households. But this generalization by no means applies unerringly to all families and households. We saw, for example, a large three-household, three-family ranching co-op (unit 15 in the Heart Butte District discussed earlier) which today is immensely successful through family consolidation of growing access to land and

animals from decade to decade and unity of kin effort. But these resources overwhelmingly out-match the relatively successful farming units. It appears to me that resources of sizable proportions (real wealth) attracts and jells extended kin units through joint family capitalization, job acquisition and political favoratism (see Houghton 1968), while mild success in the wage labor market and marginal success in farming (of 36 to 235 acres or so in the past, for example) merely allows families to atomize and go it alone. This generalization applies significantly to reservation communities where the pickings are sparse (see also Jorgensen 1971).

Using Old Agency District acreage data provides a further test of the validity of my hypothesis. Is there a correlation between family type and number of acres cultivated? A test of this type will provide a broad comparison with cash income and family type as tested in my previous analyses (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970).

Correlation Ratio Diagram I tests the relationship posited. The predicted relationship between family type and agricultural resources is evident. By inspection of the row means in the diagram, we see that independent nuclear families had by far the greatest number of acres under cultivation. The mean for independent nuclear families is 27 compared with seven, eight and three for head families in extended family households, dependent nuclear families, and dependent conjugal pairs respectively. Even if the acreages for all families in multiple-family households are lumped together, using per household figures, which of course increases the mean, multiple-family households

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

552 Hu2 Ht 128

Correlation Ratio Diagram I

FAMILY TYPE AND NUMBER OF ACRES CULTIVATED, 60 OLD AGENCY DISTRICT FAMILIES, 1921[a]

Family Type	Y (Family Type)	Mean Acres Per Family Type
Independent Nuclear	10 6 3 4 2 1 4 2 2	27.2
Dependent Nuclear	4 1 2 1	8.0
Head Family in Extended Family Household	4 1 1	7.1
Dependent Conjugal Pair	1	3.0
Grandparent-Grandchild (Household)	2	3.0
Conjugal Pair (Household)	3	3.0

1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50 Above 50

Acres Cultivated in Intervals of 5 X (Income)

η^2_{xy} = .12
$\bar{Y}$ = 19.4
---- = Trend line

(Five Independent Nuclear Family households are not shown here because of limitation of space: one in the 66-70 interval, two in the 76-80 interval, one in the 111-115 interval, and one in the 151-155 interval.)

[a]For all families involved in co-ops, I have divided acreages evenly among participating families, unless survey records specified otherwise. There were few cases in which one participating family owned the majority of acres; generally mutual control and ownership seemed to be the prevailing mode of land use.

cultivated an average of about twelve acres, a total well below the average for independent nuclear family households. Though the correlation ratio is low, only about .12, the row means of acres per family type strongly indicate the relatively meager resources utilized by those in multiple-family households and I assert that meagerness of resources brings these families together for mutual assistance. This test lends support to my hypothesis. In 1966 families in multiple-family households received less income per family than other families, although in combination those families bring their income up to an even slightly above the overall median. My tests for the contemporary data and for the data from the 1921 survey suggest that my hypothesis about the relationship between quantities of economic resources, measured either by cash or land placed under cultivation, and family types is confirmed.

Heads of independent nuclear farming families were, on the average, in their middle 40's. This compares closely with the average age of steady earners in the 1966 sample, which is 41.9 years. The neo-colonial poverty syndrome of the past persists today. Men in their twenties, particularly those who are not married, are largely unable to secure employment, while those in their late 30's and in their 40's achieve some steady employment. At about age 50 the economic picture changes. Manual labor jobs, which comprise a high percentage of available employment, demand too much from those in their 50's so that earning capacity elides rapidly.

An additional and final test of these two variables (family types and resources) is shown in Table 9. Here I test merely participation in

128
474
241
592

Table 9

FAMILY PARTICIPATION IN CO-OPS AND FAMILY TYPE

	Not in Co-Ops (Farming Families only	In Co-Ops	
Single Families	34	9	43
Multiple-Families	1	16	17
	35	25	60

$\tau_c = .445$; $\chi^2 = 27.41$; p .001

co-ops, as it must be remembered that farming families and non-families in multiple-family households were, with a single exception, farming cooperatively. Only one family, a dependent nuclear family, farmed without aid from the complementary family in multiple-family households, all others in such households worked together to use their cultivated acres so far as I could determine from the survey records. The relationship posited in Table 9 is very strong and significant.

Racial Composition of Farmers and Ranchers--Old Agency District

I now analyze the number of acres cultivated and the racial composition of farmers to determine if there is a correlation between these two variables. This analysis will yield information about who was exploiting the largest share of the cultivated acres.

There were 79 heads of farming households for whom racial composition data were given in the survey records. Forty-two of them were full-bloods (53 per cent), fifteen were one-half bloods (18 per cent), nine were whites (13 per cent), and the remaining thirteen were one-fourth Indian (5), three-quarters Indian (3), one-eight Indian (2), five-eighths Indian (1), three-eighths Indian (1), and fifteen-sixteenths Indian (1).

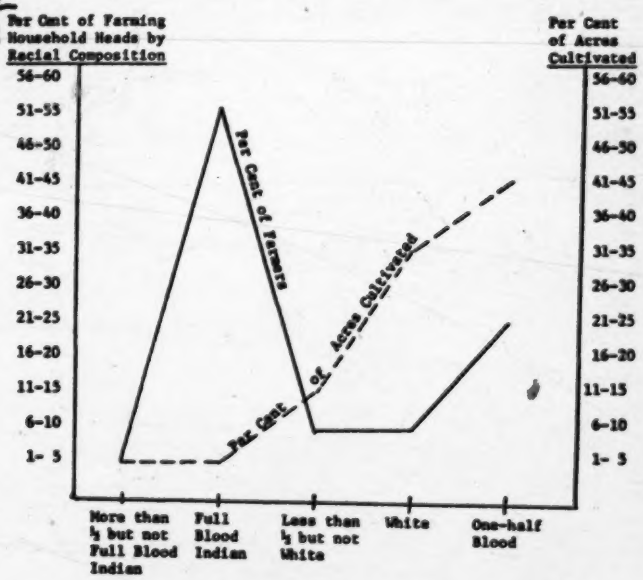
The 79 farming household heads cultivated a total of 1,446 acres. The breakdown of percentages of acres cultivated by racial composition of farming household heads shows that (in order of average acres) one-eighths blood farmers cultivated 175 acres, or an average of 87.5 acres; the nine white farmers 467 acres, or 52 acres each

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

144
563
592
241

Chart I

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF FARMING HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND ACRES CULTIVATED, 79 FARMERS, 1,446 ACRES, OLD AGENCY DISTRICT, 1921



_ _ _ _ _ = Trend line indicating Per Cent of Acres Cultivated

_____ = Trend line indicating Per Cent of Farmers

128 563 livestock, jobs). It has been shown that meager agricultural resources created mutual assistance co-ops, either in the form of multiple-family units or small groupings of households. Those with the greatest resources (except one ranching co-op) maintained independent households. The relationships demonstrated show that in the past an underclass, neo-colonial status, as it has been defined, prevailed for the majority of rural reservation inhabitants; the data presented in Chapter II demonstrate the persistence of this status up to 1970. The full-bloods, and many others, were not able to marshall sufficient capital (land, cash, equipment) to raise themselves above the underclass position. More and more of the reservation land resources have come under the control of off-reservation White ranchers, White men married to Indian women on the reservation, and entrepreneuring mixed-bloods. The majority of those who attempted farming or ranching became discouraged by meager capital and the vicissitudes of weather. The descendants of those left behind in this process of narrow selection are today engaged in sharing, for the most part, meager but different types of resources (wage labor, welfare, and leased land revenues).

Because of increased population and no dramatic rise in per capita resources, general material circumstances and conditions on a relative basis do not seem to have improved, indeed, the situation appears worse based on my analyses and criteria (household population, the incidence of multiple-family households, cooperating inter-household clusters, and miscellaneous dependents). The household, its size, composition and economic ties with other households, has proved to be a

592 182 511 critical and highly sensitive indicator of economic conditions.

The Family Cycle, 194 Families and Remnant Families, 1921

121 We have analyzed and reviewed the economic differences and similarities between the households and families of 1921 and 1966, along with comparisons of household composition and population. These topics require further analysis through comparisons of the family cycle of the past and present. This treatment of the data will provide additional and meaningful contrasts and likenesses.

114 In a previous analysis I worked out the family cycle of the rural Blackfeet households sampled in 1966 (Robbins 1968a). To do this I used a synchronic sample and determined, using the eta-square correlation ratio, the degree to which age of family heads fluctuated with family types. The obtained value was .29, which means that in 29 per cent of the cases age of heads and family types fluctuated together; this is of only modest predictive value. Family cash income in 1966 was a much better predictor (.53) of family types than age of family heads.

114 592 182

128 592 In Correlation Ratio Diagram II, which follows, I test the relationship between age of heads and family types for the families in the two rural districts in 1921. The obtained ratio of .33 is very similar to the .29 ratio obtained in a test of the 1966 rural sample. The ratios show that the family cycle of the past was very much like the present. There are specific differences, however, as will be seen as this portion of my analysis proceeds.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 100]

582
Sh4
E96
128

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Correlation Ratio Diagram II

FAMILY TYPE AND AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 194 BLACKFEET FAMILIES, 1921

Family Type — Y (Family Type)	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70 plus	Mean Age of Family Heads
Head Family in Extended Family Household					1		3	2	7	5	1	(60.7)
Grandparent-Grandchild (Household)					1				2		1	(59.5)
Single Person (Household)					1		1		1		1	(57.0)
Conjugal Pair (Household)	2	6	1	2	3	1		1	2	4	3	(46.0)
Independent Nuclear	2	10	10	14	21	24	14	7	4	4	2	(43.3)
Joint	1	2	1	1		2						(34.1)
Dependent Nuclear	1	10	2	2	1	1						(31.1)
Dependent Conjugal Pair	2	2	1	1								(27.8)

Age of Family Heads in Intervals of 5 Years — X (Age)

$\eta^2_{xy} = .33$

---- = Trend line

592
128 Families are once again grouped into stages. Stage I (Figure I) represents all families whose heads are twenty to 34 years of age. This is the same procedure I followed in explaining the 1966 rural family cycle; I do this to obtain comparability. Frequencies and percentages of family types in 1966 are also shown in the following figures.

596
592
128 The rural Stage I families of 1921 are similar in types to the Stage I families in the 1966 sample. Dependencies are again the pattern. There are 22 Stage I families in multiple-family households, or 41 per cent of all Stage I families. In the 1966 rural sample 58 per cent of all Stage I families are in multiple-family households, a difference of 17 per cent. Another contrast is in the 20-24 age interval. In 1966 all of the families in this interval are in multiple-family households whereas in the 1921 sample four of eight were in households of this type. Also we see that independence characterized the 1921 Stage I families while in 1966 dependence predominates. These comparisons certainly indicate an increasing tendency toward early dependence in family life; virtually all newlyweds in the 1966 sample are with elders.

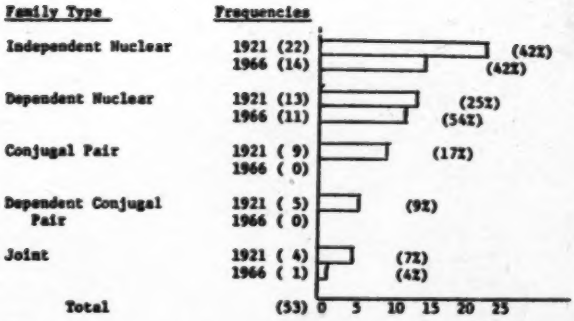
592
594
596
128 Stage II (Figure II) of the 1966 rural and 1921 rural cases are similar in comparative percentages of types, though dependent nuclear and dependent conjugal pairs stop in the 35-39 interval, dependent nuclear cases are found in the 45-49 interval and joint families go to 45-49 also. Families in multiple-family households account for ten per cent of the total in 1921; they account for fourteen per cent of the total in 1966. Statistically these differences are not significant. The differences in the two samples in Stage II are slight.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1631

592
594
596
128

Figure I

BAR CHART. STAGE I FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*

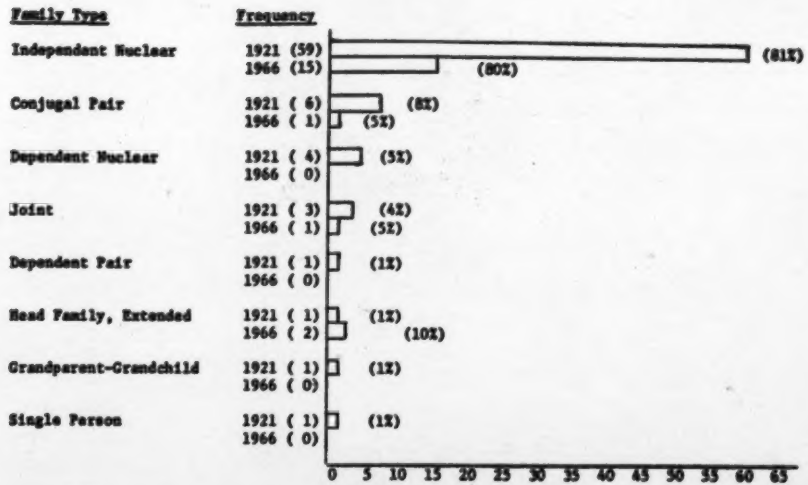


*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Age of Heads 20-34, 53 Blackfeet families, Independent Nuclear Families predominate.

552
B38
no.
128

Figure II

BAR CHART. STAGE II FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS[a]



[a]Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Age of Heads 35-49, 76 Blackfeet families; Independent Nuclear Families predominate.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Like Stage III (Figure III) in the 1966 rural Blackfeet family cycle, the 1921 sample shows a predominance of independent nuclear families. Families in multiple-family households account for 30 per cent of all Stage III families in 1966 and 28 per cent in 1921, a very close comparison. At this stage older parents pick up married dependents (dependent conjugal pairs and dependent nuclear families). The greatest frequencies of occurrence of head families are in the 60-64 age interval (seven cases) and 65-69 (five cases).

The only important contrast between the 1921 and 1966 rural samples in Stage IV (Figure IV) is the higher percentages of grandparent-grandchild non-families in 1966. I have partially discussed this difference in my analysis of demography. Once again, it can be seen that elders pick up various kinsmen in the last stage of the family cycle. More than 62 per cent of the elders in this stage have dependents which includes those with unmarried offspring, married offspring, and grandchildren. In 1966, 80 per cent of the eldest families have closely related dependents with them. If, as shown, at least four-fifths of the eldest families among the rural Blackfeet must continue supporting and in part being supported by various dependents, the prospects are dismal for elderly and young families.

121

Two additional aspects of the 1921 rural families and households deserve mention prior to my concluding observation. The first is the composition and age of head families in extended family households and the second is the number of matrifocal and patrifocal households. Both of these subjects are included for comparisons with the 1966 data so as

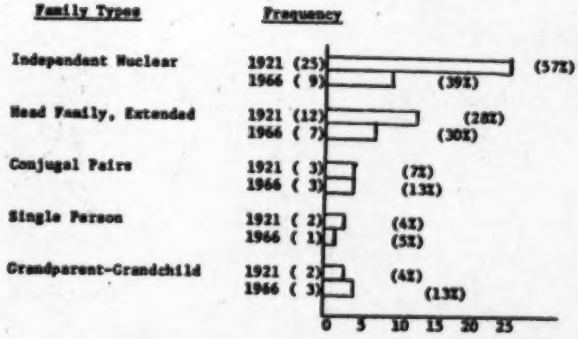
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 104]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Figure III

BAR CHART. STAGE III FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*



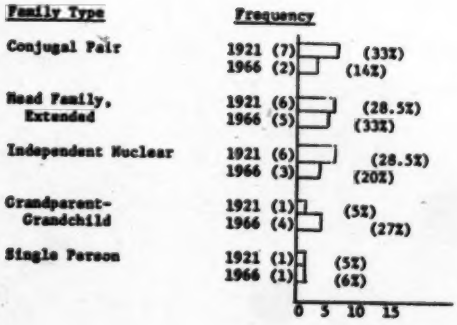
*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Age of Heads 50-64, 44 Blackfeet families, Independent Nuclear Families predominate.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Figure IV

BAR CHART. STAGE IV FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*



*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Ages of Heads 65 years plus, 21 Blackfeet families, Conjugal Pairs Predominate.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

121 to further explain the nature of families past and present.

The second subject, patrifocal and matrifocal families, is of great importance because it bears immediately on the nature of Blackfoot families of the past and present, is linked with the growing impact of the welfare system on reservation families and on economic, family, and emotional conditions in general.

128 I do not have data from the 1921 household records to convey the emotional stresses and strains common to patrifocal and matrifocal families, but I can interpolate some of these stresses through an analysis of present rural (and Browning) families of this type.

114
592

Composition of Head Families in Extended Family Households, 1921

In an earlier analysis (Robbins 1968a) I explicated the composition and duration of extended family households and predicted that only five such households would likely remain extended (which I discovered in 1970 to be so); four of these were headed by older males or females with married sons and I noted that the married sons had poor economic prospects, received considerable economic assistance from their parents, and stood to inherit a dwelling and dwelling-land from their elders. I also noted that five independent nuclear families, two conjugal pairs, and one grandparent-grandchild household hosted married offspring on an impermanent basis. No head of a host family was below 41 years of age. The range of age of heads for all host families was 41 to 73. There were nineteen extended family households in the 1921 rural sample.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Table 15

OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICT ASCENDING FAMILIES IN EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, AGE AND FAMILY TYPE, 19 HEADS, 1921*

Family Type	Frequency	Age of Heads
Single Person	7	60, 63, 64, 70, 70, 78, 80
Conjugal Pair	6	44, 52, 52, 60, 61, 62
Independent Nuclear	5	51, 57, 61, 66, 73
Grandparent-Grandchild	1	56
Total	19	Age Range: 44-80

*This table does not include joint families.

121 payments are either curtailed or withdrawn completely if welfare officials discover that an employable, able-bodied male head is present in the household. These males also find that their wages frequently do not equal or surpass ADC income in their absence; their spouses and offspring can therefore fare better alone, much to the detriment of all family members. The offspring are then thrust into the hands of a struggling female head who becomes responsible for socialization and care of offspring as well as providers.

This is the core of the definition of a matrifocal family--the female becomes the sole source of parental guidance and overall management of family affairs. Conversely, in the absence of a female head (which results from the death of the female parent, or her desertion of the family, or a marital split, and very rarely because the female must reside outside the household to hold a distant job) the male head assumes the total burden, or nearly all of it; hence, patrifocality.

Few have, so far as I know, inquired into these subjects on Indian reservations. I add some knowledge to our limited data and analyses of the subjects by comparing the number and ages of female and male heads of families in the rural districts in 1921 and 1966. The following chapter will deal with these subjects in a little more detail when I bring up the Browning, Montana, sample of families and households.

128 In the following tables I compare composition of matrifocal and patrifocal families in the 1921 (Table 17) and 1966 (Table 16) rural samples.

128 592 It can be argued, and with good reason, that extended family

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 116]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

392
394
396
128

Table 16

MATRIFOCAL AND PATRIFOCAL HOUSEHOLDS, 16 HEART BUTTE AND OTHER RURAL HOUSEHOLDS, 1966

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
F 64	Widow	Extended	Married son, his spouse and his 2 offspring (4)
F 41	Broken Union	Extended	Daughter-in-law, her daughter, her brother and head's son (4)
F 78	Widow	Independent Nuclear	3 adult offspring
F 65	Widow	Independent Nuclear	2 adult offspring, 2 grandchildren (9)
F 38	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
F 31	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Joint	2 offspring, married sister, sister's spouse, sister's 5 offspring (9)
M 72	Broken Union	Extended	Step-grandson, his spouse, and 1 offspring (3)
M 70	Broken Union	Extended	Married daughter, her spouse and 7 offspring, 1 additional grandchild (10)
M 60	Widower	Extended	Married son, his spouse and 5 offspring (7)
M 53	Widower	Extended	Married son, his spouse and 3 offspring (5)
M 69	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	Daughter and daughter's illegitimate offspring (2)

592
594
596
128

Table 16 (Continued)

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
M 63	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 adult offspring
M 60	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	4 offspring (1 adult)
M 40	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	6 offspring
M 62	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 grandchild

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Table 17

MATRIFOCAL AND PATRIFOCAL HOUSEHOLDS, 28 OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICT FAMILIES, 1921

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
F 56	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 grandchild
F 55	Widow	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
F 42	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 grandchild
F 40	Widow	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring, 4 grandchildren (6)
F 72	Widow	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring, 1 younger brother (4)
F 26	Widow	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
F 63	Widow	Extended	Married offspring and spouse of offspring (2)
F 60	Widow	Extended	Married offspring and spouse of offspring (2)
F 80	Widow	Extended	Married offspring and spouse of offspring (2)
F 45	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
F 64	Widow	Extended	Married offspring, spouse of offspring and 1 grandchild (3)
F 30	Widow	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring

592
594
596
128

Table 17 (Continued)

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
M 50	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring, 1 unrelated male (2)
M 38	Widower	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
M 43	Widower	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
M 49	Widower	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
M 73	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse and 1 unmarried offspring (3)
M 57	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse and 1 unmarried offspring (3)
M 70	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse and 1 unmarried offspring (3)
M 58	Widower	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
M 50	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse (2)
M 55	Widower	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
M 54	Widower	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
M 70	Widower	Extended	Married offspring, spouse and 2 offspring (4)
M 35	Widower	Joint	1 offspring with married son and brother-in-law (3)

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

582
584
596
128

Table 17 (Continued)

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
M 43	Widower	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
M 62	Widower	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring

households headed by males or females are not truly patrifocal or matrifocal since married offspring with their offspring provide the major socialization services. This argument, then, leads me to somewhat restate my table headings to read "spouseless male" and "spouseless female" headed households, which would therefore properly embrace all households listed, whether truly matrifocal or patrifocal.

I discuss these types of households to further elaborate on relationships within families and households. A broken union or death of a spouse obviously places additional burdens on the remaining spouse who suddenly becomes responsible for the management of the household. The burden is less in extended family households because the remaining household members can better divide the burden than in nuclear families. In the 1921 households tuberculosis claimed many spouses, a disease which is presently much better controlled. This may have curtailed the incidence of divorce.

I call attention to the differences between the two samples in the preceding tables. I note first that sixteen of the 68 rural households in 1966 fall into this category, or 24 per cent of the total, while only 26 of the 167 households in 1921 were of a similar type, or 15 per cent. Also, eleven of the sixteen cases in 1966 are the result of broken unions (seven of nine spouseless males and four of seven spouseless females), or 68 per cent. Only two cases in 1921 came about through broken unions, a mere eight per cent of the cases. I cannot explain why this is the case. Perhaps there is systematic exclusion of marital splits in the records, and marital unions as well. I try here

127 to make the best sense of the data possible given the information at
128 hand. I do know that during my 1970 visit to the reservation I learned
592 that two re-unions had occurred among the sixteen recorded spouseless
586 households. The difference in the two samples suggest increasing
589 difficulties and stress for the present households; along with poor economic conditions and increased household population density there are greater numbers of marital splits proportional to the overall number of households.

sections of the town on a broadly proportionate basis. The types and frequencies are shown in Table 18.

Two hundred and twelve persons occupy the 39 households. The age distribution of these persons is presented in the following table (Table 19) where broad age intervals of 0-21, 22-64, and 65 plus are used for demographic comparison with previously analyzed samples. The trend line and percentages of persons in the three age intervals compares closely with the figures from the present rural districts (see Chapter III).

The median number of persons per household is 4.7; for multiple-family households the figure is 7.5 and the median for independent nuclear family households is 6.5. In comparison with the 1966 rural sample these median figures show some contrasts. There are fewer persons per household in the Browning sample (4.7 against 5.8), fewer persons per nuclear family household (6.5 against 7.4) and more persons per multiple-family household (7.5 against 7.3). Table 20 compares the percentages of household types in the Browning and rural samples.

The rural sample clearly shows a statistically significant difference at the .05 level in the percentage of multiple-family households (21 per cent against 5 per cent) although other types of households occur in rather comparable percentages, as Table 20 shows. In all I gathered household composition data for 88 households, which includes the 39 cases in the preceding tables that were interviewed in considerable detail; of the 89, five are multiple-family--all are extended, dual-family households--which amount to only about 6 per cent

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 123]

592
594
596
128
369

Table 18

THIRTY-NINE BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPES,
1967, 1968 AND 1970

Household Type	Frequency
Independent Nuclear	26
Grandparent-Grandchild	5
Conjugal Pair	5
Extended Family*	2
Single Person	1
Total	39

*Two families reside in each of the extended family households.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
595
596
128
369

Table 20

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES, 68 RURAL HOUSEHOLDS AND 39 BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

Household Type	Browning (Frequencies)	Rural (Frequencies)	Percentage of Total Households	
			(Browning)	(Rural)
Independent Nuclear	26	39	67	58
Grandparent-Grandchild	5	7	13	10
Extended	2	14	5	21
Conjugal Pair	5	5	13	7
Single Person	1	2	2	3
Joint	-	1	-	1
Totals	39	68	100	100

of the total. I will discuss this larger sample in more detail momentarily.

The Browning household pattern contrasts significantly in the occurrence of multiple-family households. I will show that though fewer families in my Browning sample cluster under a single roof, there is considerable inter-household economic cooperation where such cooperation is possible. A family in Browning can better manage a single dwelling in some respects, as compared with the rural setting. Transportation, for example, is not as much of a problem to those in Browning since one can easily walk to his job, grocery stores, etc., whereas in the rural districts transportation assistance is often required when a family alone cannot afford the convenience of a private vehicle. Secondly, and more importantly, ADC-recipient matrifocal household heads receive more assistance in Browning in securing quarters through the welfare offices. Another factor is the relative scarcity of available low income kin with whom some of the low and unstable income families in Browning can join under one roof. The kinship network in the rural districts is more tightly knit, with more frequent economic interchanges between closely related families.

Browning is more urbanized in the sense that atomization and isolation of kin units occur with greater frequency. This is relative, however, because in Browning one finds a good deal of mutual, kin-based aid, as I will discuss below.

While in Browning I secured additional household composition data from random sources so as to obtain a larger sample than the 39 household

heads interviewed in depth. I obtained data concerning composition, age of head and some occupational information for a total of 94 families (89 households). This was accomplished by questioning the 39 household heads about families they are acquainted with; and I also contacted the Community Action Program officials in Browning where I received information about 21 households (all information from this office was given anonymously). These two sources increased my sample of 39 to 89 households. The following table (Table 21) lists all Browning households whose composition was ascertained; it includes the 39 cases interviewed in depth. Independent nuclear family households are overwhelmingly the most common type, with others falling far behind in frequency; this is quite a different distribution from the rural sample insofar as the occurrence of multiple-family households is concerned. But I add that fifteen households (seventeen per cent of the total) are matrifocal; nine of these are headed by women up to the age of 34 and six are headed by women 47 and older. The seventeen per cent occurrence of matrifocality is similar to the national average of 19.1 per cent for Negro households (SAUS 1968). The national average for Whites is nine per cent (Ibid.); these figures indicate a similarity between Negro and Blackfeet households in that both groups are subject to prolonged poverty and dependence on ADC and other welfare aid to a degree not found among most of the general population.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 126a]

592
128
594
596

Table 21

EIGHTY-NINE BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE,
1967, 1968, 1970

Household Type	Frequency	Per Cent of All Households
Independent Nuclear	63	72
Conjugal Pair	9	10
Grandparent-Grandchild	7	8
Extended	5	5
Single Person	5	5
Totals	89	100

13: Robbins E-4.5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

S92
434

Economics

Median household income for the Browning Blackfeet detailed sample of 39 households is $3,700 per annum, a figure very close to the $3,550 among the current rural sample analyzed previously. The median income per family is $3,522 and for independent nuclear families the median is $3,770. A breakdown of all income shows that of a grand total of $171,000 received from all sources, $127,000 are derived from earnings, $33,000 from all forms of welfare and $11,500 from leased land. Per capita income is $770, compared with $637 in the rural sample. Precisely one-half of all Browning household earned income ($63,000) is derived from federal sources of employment (BIA, National Park Service, Forest Service, etc.). Table 22, which follows, compares sources of income by type and per cent for the rural and Browning households. It can be seen that Browning households are favored with a greater percentage of earned income than the rural sample. But, as stated below, the median incomes per household are similar. The Browning income figures, when analyzed in more detail, show a distressing imbalance in earned income.

S92
434
128

Seven of the 39 households earn $63,400, or 50 per cent of all earned income. These same households receive an additional $15,700 in funds from leases, pensions and investments, or $78,600, which amounts to 46 per cent of all cash income in the sample. The higher income households receive, of course, far more than the median amount (their average is about $11,000 per annum) yet in all but one household there are joint husband-wife earners; no single earner receives more than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128

434
592
128
369

Table 22

INCOME BY TYPE AND PERCENTAGE, 68 RURAL AND 39 BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	Rural Households (Percentage of Total Income)	Browning Households (Percentage of Total Income)
Earnings	50	75
Welfare	30	18
Leased Land	20	7
Totals	100 %	100 %

592
434
128

about $6,300 per annum.

The seven high income households are occupied by conjugal pairs or independent nuclear families which supports the major hypothesis tested in earlier chapters.

The four families in the extended family households receive, from all sources, $7,600 (two households). The head families or remnant families receive $4,600 ($4,000 from regular earnings for one independent nuclear family in the ascending generation and $600 lease income for a spouseless female in the ascending generation). The dependent families receive $2,700 and $300 (earnings and welfare). Thus the elder generations contribute more than 60 per cent of the budget, about the same distribution found among rural multiple-family households. Thus, the hypothesis regarding low family income applies to these two cases, although in one case the elder generation provides almost all of the cash income. Assistance in this instance is very one-sided rather than mutual.

Table 23 tests the relationship between family income amount and the occurrence of single-family households. The distribution in the table demonstrates a relationship between income amount and the occurrence of dual-family households. However, there are eighteen cases in the lower left quadrant that require some explanation. But first I test for the amount of variation in family types that can be accounted in the fluctuations of income (see Correlation Ratio Diagram III). The correlation ratio yields a low .21. Although this is not significant in itself, the mean for head families and dependent nuclear families ($2300 and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 130]

592
434
128

Table 23

INCOME AMOUNT AND SINGLE FAMILIES, 41 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	Single Families	Dual Families	
Above $4,000	19	0	19
Below $4,000	18	4	22
	37	4	41

$\gamma_c = .090$; $\chi^2 = 4.43$, P .05

E92
S84
B16
H34
128

Correlation Ratio Diagram III

FAMILY TYPE AND AMOUNT OF FAMILY INCOME,
41 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967-1970

$\eta^2_{xy} = .21$

----- = Trend line

592 434 128

$1800) show the low income positions for these family types compared with others in the diagram. An explanation of the eighteen exceptions in Table 23 will lend additional support to my principal hypothesis.

Eight of the low income families are female-headed. Five of these are grandparent-grandchild households headed by four elderly widows and one elderly divorcee. In all of these cases the elder females support their dependent grandchildren on ADC payments or meager pensions. In only one case does the elder head partially depend upon the earnings of a resident grandchild (a female whose adult grandson earns about $500 per annum firefighting). However, all of these households receive some aid from kinsmen who reside near them in Browning. In only one instance is financial aid substantial; among the remainder assistance takes the form of baby-sitting, house-keeping, transportation and occasional food. Frequently some aid is given in return--baby-sitting, food, and house-keeping. Mutual emotional support is frequent in all cases. Most of the elderly household heads seem to manage on their ADC or other meager sources of income, although their financial circumstances at times are exceedingly precarious.

(657) (464)

592 434 476 602

The remaining three female-headed households shed a somewhat different light on the low income, independent nuclear families. These three households are headed by young females (all are 27 years of age) with two or three offspring. All are divorcees. Two of them lived with closely related families in the past but had finally managed to pull together enough ADC income to reside alone with their children. All three receive substantial economic and labor assistance from their consanguines.

592 434 591 602 Another difference between elder and younger heads of female-headed households is experience in the management of their incomes; there is also a difference in the number of kinsmen available to each type of household for assistance. The elder females have long managed on low incomes, learning through experience to parcel their resources carefully. The younger female household heads once resided with their parents or other kinsmen. Their temporary stays with these kinsmen were marked by periods of re-adjustment to their marital disruption and subsequent courtships by new male acquaintances. When the adjustments were made and no new marital unions were forthcoming, they then sought welfare aid in locating separate quarters. They, unlike the elder female heads, had their parents or other elder kinsmen to call on for aid, while the elder females have only their married children to call on, most of whom were already over-crowded in their residences. These observations offer some explanations as to why elder females remain in separate dwellings. Additionally, some other elder females already own their dwellings and are therefore better able to sustain themselves on low incomes.

128 This leaves ten additional low income, independent nuclear family households to explain as part of exceptions to the hypothesis tested in previous chapters.

592 591 602 One of the ten is a very large grandparent-grandchild household with a total of ten persons (two grandparents and eight grandchildren). The elderly couple who head this household assumed the responsibility of raising their eight grandchildren following the death of the

597 youngsters' parents in the flood of 1964. The elderly couple inhabits
597 a flood house in Moccasin Flat, the poorer section of Browning. The
602 grandchildren occasionally stay with their uncles or aunts in the rural districts when school is not in session. There are no available kinsmen who can manage the care of eight additional children in their households year around since all are now raising sizable families of
592 their own. The grandparent-grandchild household, although overcrowded
603 and seriously underfunded, is an exceptionally happy one. The children
511 deeply love their grandparents and are unfailingly eager to assist with household tasks, including care of younger siblings.

592 Near this low-income grandparent-grandchild household is a low-
511 income nuclear family. The female spouse of the household head is a
602 niece of the female and male in the Grandparent-grandchild household.
[423] The dwelling is owned and rented by the elders. Assistance from the
[427] elders is meager, except for the provision of a dwelling at minimal cost. The young family has two other kinsmen available in Browning who
592 could assist them--a married brother and married sister of the female--
511 but these, too, are involved in raising sizable families. They have
602 above average incomes, are climbing out of the poverty their parents
416 knew, and are disinclined to offer money assistance to other related families.

Two other cases, both large households, cope as best they can with their meager resources. There is substantial assistance between the two; one is headed by the father of the male household head in the other. Transportation, child care, and occasional pooling of cash

occur between the two households. No other kin are immediately available to offer aid to either of the cases.

The thirteenth exception consists of a nuclear family household whose head is in his fifties and who, along with his spouse, cares for a brother (of the male head) and four offspring. The only kinsmen available to this family who can give assistance is a son whose small nuclear family inhabits a BIA trailer in the government compound in Browning. The son, his wife and infant are struggling on a $4,000 per annum income, yet they assist the male's parents with cash whenever possible.

At this point I have discussed thirteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. The fourteenth, another independent nuclear family household, is headed by a 55-year-old male who earns $3,700 per annum, a sum very close to the cut-off point used in Table 23. Next door to this sizable household (eight persons in all) reside a married daughter, her husband and one offspring. Mutual aid is frequent between the households. Male and female in the younger family are fully employed. They are occasionally able to assist the elders with some cash, but generally labor and transportation are given mutually. These households, in their economic dealings with each other, are similar in operation to the household clusters described and analyzed by Robbins (1968a, 1968b), as is the low-income grandparent-grandchild household which provides a dwelling for a married niece, which may also be properly placed in this category. These cases suggest that kinship neighborhoods may be fairly common in Browning. My sample certainly suggests this

602 possibility, as the cases discussed below strongly indicate. I know no
591 household head or his spouse who does not have some closely related kin
592 in or near Browning.

592 Another case further illustrates mutual kin and economic ties.
602 This consists of a male, age 39, who heads a large independent nuclear
416 family. While his income is low--but $2,700 in 1967--he was at the time
[434] engaged in ranching, an undertaking that permitted some economic amenities such as meat for the family larder which is not reflected in cash
[625] income. Presently the man and his family reside in Browning where the
[469] man is employed as a policeman for the Tribe; he and his family live near the man's mother. The mother is the head of a grandparent-grandchild household (only one grandchild). Food, transportation services, and household work are mutual between these households. The male, however, is now able to assist his mother more frequently than in the past.
[128] This is the fifteenth exception to my hypothesis.

[434] One of the remaining three cases is a conjugal pair whose household income is $2,700, which yields a well above average per capita figure. Of the final two cases, one consists of a small nuclear family which receives considerable aid from the female spouse's mother--labor, some cash, and occasionally quarters (in summer). The other resides in Browning within two blocks of the low-income household in which her daughter resides.

592 The eighteenth and final case is a middle-age couple hosting ten
511 offspring and one grandchild. The household income is a meager $3,300 per annum. The hardships facing this family from week to week are

terribly unpleasant. The only kinsmen in Browning this family has is a married brother to the male head. The brother, however, struggles to make a living on a small income; he and his spouse (no other dependents) occupy a small ramshackle dwelling in Moccasin Flat. The eleven-person, low-income family calls upon anyone it possibly can for small loans or food; at times they seek aid from a prominent rancher and friend who lives at Little Badger Creek in the Heart Butte district. It would be most difficult for this family to move in with a host family even if someone were available to offer such aid--the household population could, I believe, prove far too inconvenient for both host and guest families.

I have now explained the eighteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. I add that the nineteen cases in the upper left quadrant in Table 23 maintain their independence to a far greater degree than the eighteen exceptions, although some of them provide some aid to kin and friends. Before taking up the subject of the Browning family cycle a few additional comments are in order.

In my previous analyses (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970) I advanced and confirmed the hypothesis that where family income is low and unstable related families are likely to pool resources by joining under a single roof. But I also pointed out that household clusters (two or more residences located on the land of an older kinsmen where mutual economic assistance is intense) form to accomplish essentially the ends as are found in multiple-family households. I also discovered that in 1970 two clusters of unrelated persons occurred in Heart Butte. These

592 consisted of destitute guest families that had been permitted to reside
476 in otherwise vacant dwellings owned by a close friend at no cost. The
host families also provided land. The two clusters, consisting of two
592 households each, do not involve intense mutual aid on a scale witnessed
476 among related families, but the formation of such clusters demonstrates
602 that close relationship is not always the major consideration in deciding whether low and unstable families will offer or receive aid from one another. However, I knew of no households in which unrelated families had joined together for mutual or unilateral aid.

592 I also discovered in Browning and in the rural regions that fami-
602 lies with relatively high incomes are reluctant to host their poorer
511 close kin. I was told by several household heads and their spouses that
476 they had worked hard for what they had and felt that they would definitely jeopardize themselves by "giving too much." Generally the younger, higher earners avoid hosting families; as my data have shown for all current samples, only two multiple-families and two household clusters were recorded in which one generation or host family contributed all or nearly all of the income (or a dwelling) in the units. It is mutual need that usually draws families together. This generalization also applies to the Browning "neighborhood kin units" where mutual aid often reaches a level similar to that found among the rural household clusters.

Browning Earners

121 Before I take up the Browning family cycle I wish to analyze briefly the earners in the Browning sample. Who earns, the sex, racial ancestry, age and duration of employment will all be discussed.

128 464 Of the 212 persons in my sample, 35 are earners. These persons reside in 25 of the 39 households (64 per cent); fourteen households (36 per cent) have no in-residence earners of any sort. Ten households have more than one earner (usually husband and wife). Twenty-two

434 earners are males, thirteen are females. Total earned income is $126,000,

128 with seven households having joint husband-wife earners receiving about

[464] 30 per cent of the total. As mentioned, one-half of all earned income is derived from federal employment (Community Action Program, other OEO

[472] agencies, BIA, Forest Service, National Park Service, etc.). Two households are engaged in individually-owned private businesses which bring in $18,800 (about fourteen per cent of all earned income for the entire sample) and one couple earns about $3,000 per annum doing Indian

434 crafts. Other sources of employment are individual ranching (one case),

464 Tribal Policeman (one), school teaching (one), ranching and farming,

128 housekeeping, waitressing, etc., for others. The high percentage of earned revenue from federal jobs suggests meager success and opportunities in private enterprises.

434 There are twenty-one full-time earners; these reside in sixteen

592 households. Five households have two steady earners each. Thus only 13 of

128 39 households have steady earners, or only 43 per cent of all households

464 sampled. The median age of steady earners is 42.0 years, which is almost

128

178 563 464 182 cannot qualify for jobs, hence seasonal or employment results. It goes on and on with each generation. Meanwhile, Whites and mixed-bloods are entrenched in positions where they can assist their kin in obtaining the few opportunities that are available. The majority of full bloods, therefore, continue to form an economic sub-stratum. That discrimination in hiring full bloods exists is unquestionable. But this does not always take the form of racial bigotry per se. It is more the result of meager economic opportunities for everyone and a form of competition which favors the abilities of Whites and mixed-bloods. It is these few Whites and mixed-bloods (and a very few full bloods) who climb up to a lower middle-class position on the reservation. The remainder are caught in an underclass position.

592 511 182 I have shown that economic factors strongly influence household composition, as is the case in the rural sample. I have shown that in Browning inter-household mutual economic assistance is rather commonplace among low-income related families, as was also found in the rural districts.

434 464 563 811 182 Length of employment is a strong determiner of amount of earned income; racial composition is strongly associated with length of employment and income amount; and finally, educational and vocational training are least though somewhat associated with full employment. The adult male or female who works twelve months of the year, has eleven or more years of educational or vocational training and who is one-half or less Indian is most likely to be relatively successful in earning more than $2,800 per annum according to my findings.

The Browning Family Cycle

128 The Browning family cycle, like previous samples, is derived from synchronous data and once again I infer a cycle using age of heads for each family type. Correlation Ratio Diagrams IV and V test the relationship between age of family head and family type for the two Browning samples (the 41-family sample interviewed in detail and the total sample of 94 families).

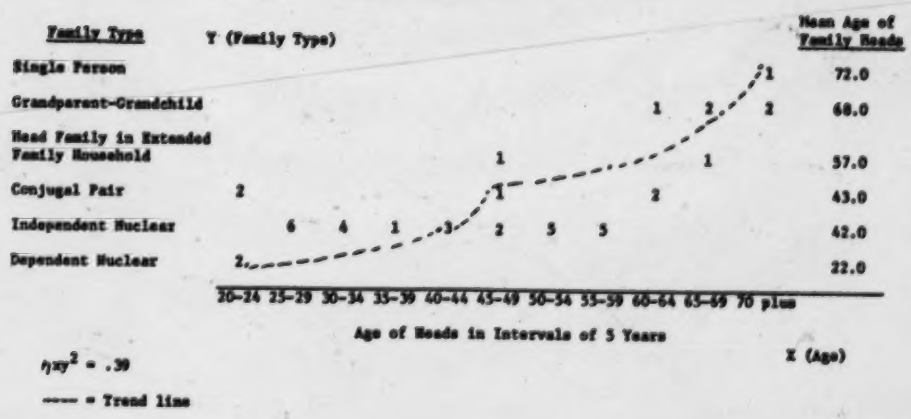
592 128 369 Family type varies with age of family head 39 per cent in Correlation Ratio Diagram IV and Correlation Ratio Diagram V 27 per cent, both are comparable to the ratio of variation found in a similar test for the rural sample of 83 families taken in 1966. The variation is less between the rural sample (see Chapter III) and the total Browning sample of 94 families for which I collected data on composition and age as the following table (Table 28) indicates. The average variation for each family type between the total Browning sample and the rural sample is 2.14 years; the total variation (pluses and minuses) is fifteen years. This is considerably less than the difference between the rural and the 41-family Browning sample (total variation is 35.4 years, average mean difference for each type, 5.05 years) and between the total Browning sample and the sample of 41 (the total variation is 22.4 years: the average mean difference is 3.20 years). It must be kept in mind that the total Browning sample includes the 41 families, which certainly affects the total Browning sample figures. From these findings I conclude that the rural sample of 83 families is more similar to the total Browning sample and that these two samples may reflect a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 150]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana
:47

Correlation Ratio Diagram IV

FAMILY TYPES AND AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 41 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967-1970



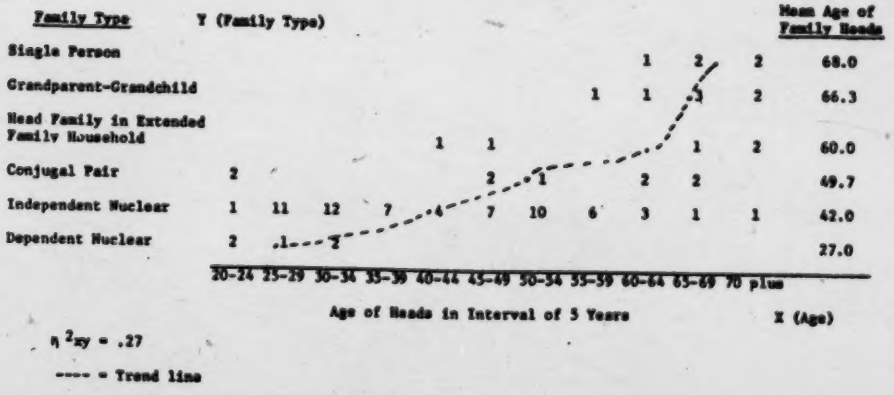
$\eta_{xy}^2 = .39$

----- = Trend line

592
S9H
S96
128

Correlation Ratio Diagram V

FAMILY TYPES AND AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 94 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967-1970


Family Type
Y (Family Type)
Mean Age of Family Heads
Single Person
1 2 2 68.0
Grandparent-Grandchild
1 1 2 66.3
Head Family in Extended Family Household
1 1 1 2 60.0
Conjugal Pair
2 2 1 2 2 49.7
Independent Nuclear
1 11 12 7 4 7 10 6 3 1 1 42.0
Dependent Nuclear
2 1 2 27.0
20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49 50-54 55-59 60-64 65-69 70 plus
Age of Heads in Interval of 5 Years
X (Age)

$\eta^2_{xy} = .27$

---- = Trend line

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 -NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
369
128

Table 28

THREE-SAMPLE COMPARISON OF MEAN AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 94 BROWNING FAMILIES, 41 BROWNING FAMILIES AND 83 RURAL BLACKFE T FAMILIES, 1966, 1967, 1968 AND 1970

Family Type	94 Browning Families (Mean Age of Heads)	41 Browning Families (Mean Age of Heads)	83 Rural Families (Mean Age of Heads)
Single Person	68.0	72.0	64.6
Grandparent-Grandchild	66.3	68.0	65.6
Head Family (Extended)	60.0	57.0	60.6
Conjugal Pair	49.7	43.0	58.0
Independent Nuclear	42.0	42.0	40.8
Dependent Nuclear	27.0	22.0	27.8

592
128
369

rural-urban household dichotomy on the reservation.

Correlation Ratio Diagrams IV and V indicate that there are fewer multiple-family household in the Browning samples on a percentage basis than in the rural sample, although ages of family are similar for all types except conjugal pairs (they tend to be younger in Browning).

The Browning family cycle, like the rural family cycle, commences with a period of partial dependence (here I am referring to all 94 Browning families). Two of five families (conjugal pairs) are clustered with elders, or 40 per cent of all those in the age interval of 20-24 years; in the rural districts all of the families or non-families in this interval are dependent.

Dependencies among younger families continue up to the age of 34, as is found in the rural sample. The dependent families in the Browning sample account for sixteen per cent of all families in the 20-34 age interval, while in the rural sample 54 per cent of families are dependent in this age interval, a marked contrast.

Families whose heads are 35 to 64 years are overwhelmingly independent in Browning (47 of 55 are independent nuclear, two are head families in extended family households, and there are four conjugal pairs, two grandparent-grandchild households, and a single person household). Nine of 45 families in the rural sample are head families in this age interval (twenty per cent) which again points out the greater occurrence of dependencies in the rural district; 60 per cent are independent nuclear families in the rural district compared with 80 per cent among the 35 to 64 age interval families in Browning.

592
128
369 Of the two extended family households in the 41-family sample, it is probable that only one will remain extended. This is the household headed by an elderly spouseless female with her son, his spouse and two offspring.

In the final stage (age interval, 65 plus years) of the Browning family cycle five of sixteen families are grandparent-grandchild, four are single person, three are head families, and there are two conjugal pairs and two independent nuclear families. Thus, ten of sixteen family heads are still involved in caring for dependents (young or adult offspring, grandchildren or foster children), or 63 per cent of the total; in the rural district sample 80 per cent of heads in this interval are still encumbered with dependents of various types.

The rural and Browning family cycles are very similar in stage-by-stage shifts in types through time; dependents for younger families are common up to 34 years of age, and the hosting of dependents occurs at about the same stage, though percentages of dependencies occur at a higher rate among rural families.

The final stage in both samples is extremely similar. In both, dependents are commonplace in the households headed by elders whose family and life cycle are approaching termination.

121
128

Miscellaneous Dependents, Grandparent-Grandchild Households, and Matrifocal Families

The final portion of this chapter concerns only the 41-family sample. Two topics will be discussed briefly: the presence of miscellaneous dependents in the Browning households and the occurrence

121 128 of matrifocal families and grandparent-grandchild households. Data from the 94-family sample are not adequate for an analysis of these topics.

592 429 128 Of the 212 persons in my small Browning sample eleven (five per cent) are miscellaneous dependents residing in seven independent nuclear family households. All are listed in Table 29 by type of household in which they reside and their relationship to the household head. Fifteen per cent of all households have miscellaneous dependents (7 of 39). Again I emphasize that the category "miscellaneous dependents" includes only those whose presence in a household in no way affects the household type. Miscellaneous dependents are spouseless and childless persons who stand outside the kinship structure of the household type (see Chapter I). Table 29 shows that the Browning households are comparable to the rural households in the percentage of households hosting various dependents, although the percentage is higher in the rural district (see Chapter III). The kinship diversity in Browning is not as great as among miscellaneous dependents in the rural sample; only two dependents in the Browning sample are adults.

The number of youngsters (persons less than 1 year to 21 years of age) living with someone other than their parents is very high. Twenty-seven young persons of the 133 whose ages range from less than 1 year to 21 years are in the households of someone other than their parents (21 per cent), or one in five youngsters. Twenty-one are grandchildren of their hosts and six are foster children. Eight grandchildren reside with grandparents because of parental death, the others (in order of frequency of occurrence) are with grandparents because of marital splits

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 153]

592
429
128

Table 29

MISCELLANEOUS DEPENDENTS, ELEVEN DEPENDENTS, SEVEN HOUSEHOLDS, BROWNING, MONTANA, 1967, 1968, 1970

Household Type	Number and Relationship to Head (if any)	Total
Independent Nuclear	1 foster son, 1 foster daughter	2
Independent Nuclear	1 granddaughter, 2 foster sons, 1 foster daughter	4
Independent Nuclear	1 foster son	1
Independent Nuclear	1 granddaughter	1
Independent Nuclear	1 brother	1
Independent Nuclear	1 granddaughter	1
Independent Nuclear	1 grandson	1
Total Households: 7	Total Persons:	11

or out-of-wedlock sexual unions (roughly the same ordering as in the rural district sample).

The data concerning miscellaneous dependents in my Blackfeet samples, past and present, indicate strong affective ties and feelings of responsibility. There are no orphanages or old folks homes on the reservation, and I learned that only one elderly Blackfeet person stays in the old folks home in Cut Bank. The Blackfeet are extremely fond of children and the elderly; they make every effort to provide a home for the helpless even in the face of great economic adversity. Elders bring some money into the households where they reside from leases, welfare, or pensions, and the presence of children often qualifies a host household for ADC income, yet economic motives alone do not entirely account for the high incidence of affective ties and feeling of responsibility for the helpless. Economic motives, however, appear to be the critical considerations.

Thirty-one per cent of the rural households have miscellaneous dependents (a total of 33 persons). This is thirteen per cent higher than among the Browning households in the 39-household sample. The rural miscellaneous dependents are more diverse in their relationship to household heads than in the Browning households (see Chapter III). Again the rural households stand in comparison as having a greater incidence of multiple-family households and a higher per cent and diversity of miscellaneous dependents. These comparisons emphasize a possible rural-urban dichotomy, although further investigation is required to confirm or infirm this generalization.

592
369
128

In Chapter III, I compared the formation and number of households and families headed by spouseless males and females in the 1921 and 1966 rural samples. Here I make a similar comparison between current Browning and rural samples. Table 30 lists all Browning households headed by spouseless females in the 41-family sample. No spouseless males headed any of the families or households in the sample. The nine Browning single-headed households comprise 22 per cent of the households; in the rural district 22 per cent are also single-headed. In the rural sample there is a higher per cent of elder spouseless persons heading households (only two are younger than 32) while in Browning there is a clustering of younger females (three age 27) and elders (five who are 61 and older) and there is one middle-age female head. As mentioned, all Browning single heads are females; in the rural sample nine heads are males and seven are females. In both samples the youngest single heads are females. These number five; all heads are 32 or younger; their households are truly matrifocal.

Broken unions account for the formation of eleven single-headed households in the rural sample. Five came about by the death of a spouse. Four of the Browning single-headed households came about through divorce and five from deaths of spouses. I cannot account for an apparent absence of single male heads in the Browning sample.*

[129]

*I add here that Miss Margery Moore, an NIH trainee, sampled eighteen households in Browning; she found no patrifocal households and four matrifocal, a 22 per cent incidence of matrifocality, the same percentage I found. There was no duplication of cases in our samples.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
586
128

Table 30

NINE MATRIFOCAL BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967-1970

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
F 65	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	3 grandchildren
F 72	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	3 grandchildren
F 61	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 grandchild
F 68	Broken Union	Grandparent-Grandchild	3 grandchildren
F 64	Widow	Extended	1 married son, his spouse and 2 offspring
F 50	Widow	Independent Nuclear	8 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring

Total 9

592 586 Broken unions among single household heads are not necessarily indicators of overall marital stability. Among the rural adults who had been or were married at the time I contacted them, I found that for every divorce or permanent separation there are 4.4 marriages (common law, civil, church marriages). This ratio of permanent separations or divorces reflects a reasonably stable marital pattern. By comparison with other populations, Lynd and his associates (Lynd 1956) found that in 1924 at "Middletown" there were 42 divorces per 100 marriages; there was more instability in Lynd's sample than the rural Blackfeet. At Middletown the divorce rate was 42 per cent while the rate among the rural Blackfeet is 22 per cent, a difference of 20 per cent. The divorce rate, to provide additional comparative data, in Los Angeles County, California, is about 50 per cent at present. I realize these comparisons are not as meaningful as they should be. An additional factor is that marriage among the Blackfeet is generally regarded as a more or less permanent arrangement only if cohabitation lasts more than six months. More casual unions are rather frequent and are not included in the figures given here, nor are they regarded as marriages by participants so far as I was able to determine.

586 171

581

Conclusions

369 592 511 Browning households, based on my findings, are only slightly more prosperous than the rural Heart Butte inhabitants. Median household income is about $3,700 compared with $3,550 in the Heart Butte area. Earned income accounts for a greater percentage of total household income

592 369 434

592 and conversely, welfare and leased land income are also smaller in
369 percentages than in the rural area. However, I pointed out that seven
434 households of the 39 interviewed intensively receive almost 50 per cent of the earnings and these households have joint husband-wife earners. The earning in this small number of households strongly affect the percentage of earned income for the entire sample. The have-nots, that is, the majority of the lower or non-earning households, are far down the line in total income.

592 Multiple-family households occur in very small percentages in
596 Browning; only five of 89 households canvassed for household composition
128 were multiple-family in form. This is only slightly above five per cent
369 compared with the 21 per cent in the rural area, a statistically significant difference at the .05 level. However, Browning households with
592 incomes of less than $4,000 per annum are engaged in frequent kin-based
511 economic aid. These households form tiny kin neighborhoods where there
369 is frequent face-to-face contact and exchange of money, labor, and emo-
602 tional support. About 45 per cent of the households in the intensively interviewed sample of 39 were involved in these mutual assistance groups. Those who earn $4,000 or over generally sever economic ties, at least much more so than do the lower income households. These families tend to live to themselves and to place their resources at the disposal of their individual families in a somewhat middle class style.

592 Browning and Heart Butte area demographics are similar. In each,
369 youngsters 21 or younger make up about 60 per cent of the samples, those
128 22 to 64 about 35 per cent, and elders 65 and over between 3 to 5 per

592 369 128 cent. The occurrence of miscellaneous kin and non-kin in Browning compares with the rural area in frequency. Fifteen per cent of the Browning households and 21 per cent of the rural households have these types of household members, not a statistically significant difference. In 592 429 369 128 both areas there is a high percentage of youngsters in households other than those of their parents mainly because of illegitimacies, separations, divorces, and overcrowding in the natal homes. Furthermore, hosts, usually elder grandparents, receive ADC payments for their young dependents which permits greater acceptance of youngsters.

592 369 128 Matrifocality in Browning and the rural area is similar in occurrence, about twenty per cent. This household form, along with generally low incomes, places about half of the sampled Browning households in an underclass position.

The family cycles of Browning and rural families were found to be similar, excepting the far lesser occurrence of dependent families [182] in Browning. A partial explanation for this difference is the greater availability of housing in Browning and greater accessibility of services and job location which obviates partially the need for families to cluster together.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has further tested and confirmed my three basic hypotheses: (1) the low and unstable income (or other resources) causes related families to join under a single roof, if kin are available to form such households, or (2) that low and unstable family income (or other resources) also causes related families to live adjacent to one another on land owned by an elder kinsman to form intensive cooperative units and to defray rental expenses; (3) scarce economic resources in the past (1921) brought about intensive cooperation among related and unrelated families which continues today.

The data presented in this and my earlier Blackfeet studies demonstrate a low, marginal position of the Blackfeet in the American society and economy. This position, described as neo-colonial and labeled underclass, has been empirically established. Stability and amount of income were poor in 1966 and remained so in 1970 when I conducted my follow-up study.

In the rural districts (Heart Butte and adjacent regions) families that form multiple-family households and land clusters are engaged in intensive mutual economic assistance. In 1966, 59 per cent of all families studied in this area were so occupied; in 1970, 55 per cent were so involved, a statistically insignificant reduction. Family

592 relocation and kin unit splintering and recombinations largely coincide
511 with economic solvency and insolvency. Those who obtain steady earnings
182 break from the kin units they formerly had joined with so as to enjoy a relatively brief period of independence in the middle class mold. But many of these, later in their family cycle, will likely host younger close kin to give and receive economic aid when earnings slump, usually around age 50 for the family heads. The cycle of initial family dependence, brief independence, and eventual mutual dependency results from
[178] meager access to resources. Since at least 1921 this has been a common pattern in the rural areas included in this study.

241 In the past (1921), as has been documented, farming conducted on
454 a very modest scale brought together those families with the fewest
592 acres under cultivation to form mutual co-op units for maximum utilization of limited resources. Labor, equipment (such as it was) and harvests were shared by small units which consisted on the average of a little
602 over two families. Usually only closely related families formed the
474 co-ops, a pattern very similar to current multiple-families and land
592 clusters which serve to maximize available low cash income, land and
592 dwellings. In 1921 farming and ranching families with above average
511 resources generally operated without assistance from others. The same
178 pattern prevails today; when families achieve modest earnings they too
474 live to themselves, although they maintain kin contacts and occasionally offer aid.

592 Household population from 1921 to 1966 rose from a median of 4.2
178 to 5.8 in the rural districts examined in this study. This occurred

592 178 735 because of a rise in population which entailed higher survival rates. Another cause of this increase is the continued but intensified occurrence of multiple-family households and miscellaneous household members brought about largely by the need to share scarce resources including ADC. Overall the relative economic situation has gotten worse, if one judges this condition on the basis of my hypothesis that mutual need creates a gathering of families under a single roof or adjacent to one another. I believe I have convincingly demonstrated my hypothesis.

431 592 178 In 1921 farming, limited as it was, formed an important part of the resources base for most families; federal annuities, ranching and very meager employment followed far behind. Today wage labor, welfare and leased land income form the resource base for most families. These resources are fluctuating in that often they are sparse, seasonal, or otherwise intermittent, necessitating the formation of mutual assistance groups by various kin and occasionally non-kin.

563 178 We also saw that those who cultivated the fewest acres in 1921 were full-blood Blackfeet, and I attempted to partially explain this phenomenon by citing their timidity, hostility, lack of skills and language barriers. Ethnic and racial bias based on skin color and behavior very likely played a part in how well or poorly the full bloods received the farming program. The most successful farmers and ranchers were white men married to allotted Indian women and mixed-bloods (one-half or less Indian but not white). I also attempted an explanation for their relative success by speculating that they had the skills, perhaps some initial capital, and escaped some of the racial bias

suffered by the full bloods.

Along with observations about demography I pointed out and analyzed a relative rise in the incidence of matrifocal and patrifocal households from 1921 to 1966 and that more and more of these result from marital separations. If these forms are part of a disorganization syndrome, as sociological studies imply, then they are another indication of worsening conditions.

The 1921 farming program largely failed, as was shown, principally because of poor capitalization. No farm was comparable in size to the 1920 average size of Mountain States farms. Most of the rural farmers could not compete with the increasing number of high-investment agricultural enterprises and declining prices after World War I.

The final chapter deals with a modest Browning sample of 39 households. Although the Browning family cycle is very similar to the rural family cycle, far fewer Browning households are multiple-family in composition. Available housing, the ease with which families can give and receive aid in a concentrated population likely curtail the incidence of multiple-family households. But cooperating kin units, forming small neighborhoods, are common and function much like the multiple-family households and land clusters in rural districts.

Median Browning household and family income are only slightly above the rural figures; per capita income is only about $150 more per year. Those in Browning who earn reasonable incomes are few in number in my small sample. Seven households, all of which are independant, receive almost half the total income for the entire sample and in these

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

households joint husband-wife earners are the rule. Overall income distribution in the Browning sample is similar to the rural distribution; earnings rank first, welfare second and leased land income third, although the proportions are somewhat better in Browning where 75 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the income is derived from earnings.

In Browning, as in the rural past, full bloods have least access to resources (mainly jobs) and I again attempted an explanation. Income in the Browning sample is associated least with education and training and most strongly with duration of employment. Racial ancestry correlated significantly with income; those who are one-half or less Indian get the steady jobs with the best pay.

Matrifocality in Browning and in the rural households occur at a rate of about twenty per cent. Young miscellaneous dependents outside the immediate nuclear family units occur at a very high rate in both Browning and the rural areas. These youngsters live with grandparents most often. They do so because they are oftentimes illegitimate children, or their parents are separated or because of overcrowding and insufficient funds in their natal home. Their presence in other households is often an economic asset to the hosting elders because ADC payments may be forthcoming. This exposure to a wide network of kin generates strong emotional attachments between youngsters and those who from time to time host them.

We have seen in this study how economically precarious the underclass position is. The existence of such a class on the reservation can more fully be described empirically using some of the data

80

[1884-1960]

433
233
727
464
426

My father had a ranch and I helped him from the time I left school until the war. After the war I got a job in California and stayed there until my father asked me to come back and help with the ranch. I worked on the ranch for two years, then my father, who was getting old, sold off his stock in 1948 and I went to work for another rancher.
--a steadily employed farmhand, Case No. 46, ¼ Blackfeet.

I had a good herd and then got sick and couldn't take care of them. Nobody would. Some were stolen so I sold them all.
--a full-blood pensioner.

My father bought this land and is leasing more to farm. I dropped out of school to help and now I'm running the farm. My father got a F.H.A. loan to improve the house and we're doing good.
--a young farmer, Case No. 31, 5/16 Blackfeet.

I was farming, had 80 acres of grain but that wasn't enough to make a living. Then I ranched on 580 acres. I had 65 head, including calves--loan cattle. The loan requirements insist that you stay with the cattle, but I took wage jobs to make enough to live on, so they took my cattle. Just didn't have enough land for farming or ranching.
--a seasonally employed construction worker, Case No. 6, 1/16 Blackfeet.

I have about 35 head I'm running with family stock on other people's land. These are loan cattle. I've been taking 5 to 10 head a year and haven't been pressed for payment. Just pay them back when I can. The family helps take care of them. I want to lease some land but find it hard to do. The Indian gets priority but somehow it seems hard to get land away from the white leaseholders.
[427]
--a regularly employed carpenter, Case No. 45, 1/4 Blackfeet.

I was raised on a ranch. Before the war I was living and working for my uncle who had cattle. I had some loan cattle and was just getting started. Then I was called into the Army. They only kept me six months, but no one would take care of my cattle while I was gone so I turned back the loan cattle and sold the rest. After the war I came to town and worked for wages.
--an irregularly employed laborer, Case No. 10, full-blood.

433
592 This is the way these men see the problems, and whether or not they are correct in their appraisal is beside the point. The important thing is that, for various reasons, many men failed to make a go of ranching and farming while a few others did. The successful ones appear

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

433 to have had family support. Only by cooperation, in which some of the
692 family took wage earning jobs while others tended the ranch, were most enterprises kept going.

648 The pressure for ending trust status of Indian land culminated
657 in the adoption of a Congressional Resolution in 1953 calling for the
423 "earliest possible" termination of Federal responsibilities over
425 specified Indian tribes.[162] The Blackfeet were not included among the Indians to be "freed," but the resolution was interpreted as a statement of intent to end rapidly the trust status of all Indians. In response to this resolution, the

> issuance of patents in fee nearly doubled as compared with the previous year . . . while the disposition of allotted holdings through advertised sales more than tripled. . . .[163]

A brief moratorium in 1958 was lifted the following year "in compliance with a congressional request. . . ."[164] The Blackfeet continued to lose reservation land to non-members.

433 While Federal and tribal authorities were attempting to increase the industrial capacity of the reservation, other forces were working
[161] against them. The population was growing--from the 3,921 resident
[162] members in 1941 to 4,850 in 1960. The increasing number of Blackfeet
[167] who had left the reservation often included the most highly educated.
[425] The land sales and continued fractionization of allotments through inheritance procedures made land consolidation and utilization
[434] increasingly difficult. The trend toward larger farms and ranches

---

[162] U.S., Congressional Record, 83rd. Cong., 1st Session, 1953, XCIX, Part 8, p. 9968.

[163] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1953, p. 24.

[164] Ibid., 1959, p. 253.

TAPLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Average Income (dollars)	Has Bank Acct.	Wel-fare Used	Owns Land	Uses Land	Owns Home	Lives With Relatives	Type of House	Cond. of House	Lawn or Garden	Owns Auto	Cond. of Auto
2	$3,000	X			X		X	house	exc.	X	X	good
3	2,250			X			X	shack	poor		X	poor
5	1,500						X	house	fair		X	fair
6	3,000	X			has	X-		trailer	good		X	good
7	3,000				X		X	house	good		X	good
9	800		X	X			X	house	fair			
10	1,200		X	X		rents	w/him	shack	poor+			
11	1,800						X	shack	poor		X	poor
13	1,000			X		rents		house	good	X	wife	fair
14	200		X			X		shack	poor		X	fair
17	2,000					fam.		shack	poor		X	poor
18	1,500			X			X	shack	poor			
19	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	exc.	X	X	good
21	5,000	X		X	X	X		house	good		X	poor
22	3,000	X		X	X	X		house	fair		X	fair
26	800						X	cabin	fair			
27	75		X			X	w/him	shack	poor			
28	1,600		X				X	house	fair		X	fair
29	200						X	shack	poor		X	poor
30	5,000					rents		apt.	exc.	X		
31	1,600				X	fam.		house	good		X	fair
32	720		X	X		X		shack	poor			
34	2,500					X-		trailer	good		X	I
35	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	good	X	X	good
37	450		X				X	cabin	fair			
38	3,600			X		X		house	good	X	X	good
39							X	cabin	fair			
42	1,200			X		X	w/him	house	good		X	good
43	2,400				X	X		house	fair+		X	good
46	2,400			X			w/girl	house	fair			
47	[illegible]		X	X		X		shack	poor			

[424] [454] [453] [457] [423] [427] [342] [592] [423] [434] [342] [342] [351] [493] 184 177 121 106

106 121 177 184 represents cash received from wages, disability and veterans' pensions, income from leased land, but does not include tribal corporate dividents--per capita payments which vary annually in amount but are the same for all tribal members.

[434] Where a man lives with relatives, all income may be pooled, so [592] that one man making but $800 annually may be aided by his son's income [434] of $1,500. Several, among those with low income, receive help from more wealthy relatives. Others, classed as ranchers, may be in a family partnership and receive a part of their subsistence, and perhaps rent-free housing, as well as a share of the family cash income from the ranch or farm products. This shared housing and subsistence are not included in the income figure.[166] The average income figure, then, is less of an index of subsistence base than it is of a broad range of economic success. Those with low incomes are poor, and the aid of others does not pull them out of this condition; such aid may make subsistence possible.

[453] [454] Has Bank Account records the cases among the sample who have checking or savings accounts or have established credit at the local bank. Because this information is limited, in most cases to transactions with the local bank, it may fail to classify accurately one or two men. The over-all picture of limited use of bank facilities, however, is realistic and may be highly diagnostic of economic and cultural differences. The percentage of the sample reporting bank accounts and

---

[166] One exception, No. 46, works for board and room and draws money from his employer only to meet other requirements. The income reported for this man is an estimate of the cash equivalent of board, room, and spending money.

106 transactions is in close agreement with the tribal credit assessment
121 reported in Chapter III.
177 Use of Welfare, included as another economic index, will be
184 discussed at greater length in the analysis.
[453] Land Ownership and Land Use are included as indices of
[454] acculturation. The assumption is that the leasing of owned land to
[657] others, while lacking work oneself, is a least economical use of the
[423] land. There appears to be a tendency for the more acculturated
[427] individuals to make more use of their land. The previously mentioned complexities of land ownership and use may intervene here, and the information contained in these two columns will need further examination.

[342] Home Ownership, Lives with Relatives, Type of House, and
[592] Condition of House reflect many complex problems. But the ownership
[423] and maintenance of a home, along with single or joint family occupancy, can be used as indices of economic adjustment. As was mentioned earlier, the care and use of the home may be a more important index than is the house type.

[434] The inclusion of this information may also serve to qualify
[342] the reported income figures. A man who has reported a low income figure, but who owns a good house, probably has a better record of past earning than does the man with the low income and poor house.

[342] The ratings used are self-explanatory with the exception of those under Type of House. A dwelling consisting of one to three rooms in poor condition is classified as a shack; a similar sized residence in fair or good condition is called a cabin. A house is a dwelling of four or more rooms regardless of condition.

128 aspects, but is included here as it concerns an item of property. An
106 automobile is a major investment; its possession represents, at least,
[493] a past or projected earning capacity sufficient for ownership.
[454] Automobile ownership and condition are scaled:

Subject owns no automobile . . . . . 0 points
Subject owns an automobile, poor condition . . 1 points
Subject owns an automobile, fair condition . . 2 points
Subject owns an automobile, good condition . . 3 points

Partial support from family adds information that tends to decrease the economic ranking of subjects who are more dependent upon others for subsistence needs. Family support in the form of housing has already been considered, so was not included in this measurement. Two men, each reporting the same annual income figure, are not economically equal if one must support himself and his family entirely from this income, while the other derives considerable subsistence support from others. Car and home ownership rankings are also qualified by use of this family support information. The man who receives partial support from his family may be able to invest in a house or automobile, while the independent man might not. Similarly, the man who can own these things and remain self-supporting demonstrates the greater economic achievement. These differences are recognized and weighted for by this additional information. These are in part new
[434] data, present only by inference in Table 1. Partial support is ranked:
[592]

Considerable parental support . . . . . 0 points
Some support from parents or siblings . . . . . 1 points
Little or no support from parents but partial support from wife . . . . . 2 points
Complete economic independence . . . . . 3 points

Welfare aid adds another qualifier of the income figures. It depresses those among the low income group who find it necessary to

TABLE 4

ECONOMIC SCORES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROBABILITY SAMPLE AND THEIR ECONOMIC INDICES

Case No.	Type of Work	Income	Uses Land	Home Ownership	Type and Condition	Auto and Condition	Part Family Support	Uses Welfare	Total
2	4	2	2		4	3	1	1	17
3	1	2	1			1	2	1	8
5	2	1			2	2	1	1	9
6	1	2		2	2	3	3	1	14
7	4	2	2		3	3	1	1	16
9			1		2		1		4
10		1	1	2	1		1		6
11	1	1		1		1	2	1	7
13			1	2	3	2	2	1	11
14				3		2	1		6
17	2	1		1		1	2	1	8
18		1	1				3	1	6
19	5	5	3	3	4	3	3	1	27
21	5	4	3	3	3	1	3	1	23
25	5	2	3	4	2	2	3	1	22
26					1			1	2
27				3			2		5
28		1			2	2	3		8
29						1	3	1	5
30	5	4		2	4		3	1	19
31	4	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	15
32			1	3			2		6
34	2	2		2	2	2	1	1	12
35	5	5	3	4	3	3	3	1	27
37					1		1		2
38	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	1	19
39					1			1	2
42	2	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	16
45	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	21
46	2	2	1	1	2		3	1	12
47			1	3			3		7

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

which he raised and trained to the saddle. He had three men more or less constantly with him. They and their wives were provided with meals, lodging, spending money, and the use of horses. In addition he provided for five old people who had no other means of support. They lived in houses near him, were given occasional blankets and clothing, accompanied him when he went to the Sun Dance or the Tobacco Dance, where they lived in his tipi and were given, when occasion demanded, groceries over and above the rations. While their grandsons drove the horses into the corral, these old dependents passed the afternoon swapping stories with Boy Chief. We estimate that on the reserve there are five such systems of economic flow centring about an entrepreneur.

These entrepreneurs may be considered the lingering exemplifications of the old band system. Like them the old band chiefs would provide a source of income for their bands: it might be harvesting with hay, planting gardens, running a ferry, or extracting coal. To the band chief came young men who performed the main tasks involved in return for their keep and, when necessary, for the clothing and feeding of their relatives. With the advent of the farms and the scattering of people over the reserve, these bands dissipated, so that the system persists today only in a few cases, though it continues as an ideal for many entrepreneurs. The band is now almost a meaningless concept to those under thirty; it is solely a named section in the brief annual circle camp where an individual sets his tent. The function of the band as a distributive system has been assumed by the family. It assumes a characteristic pattern when the head of a prosperous family has his circle of dependent relatives who furnish him a market for generosity in return for homage. This function of the family differs from that of the entrepreneurs in that the entrepreneur may provide for persons outside the family group. The main trend today is away from the entrepreneur system towards having each family care for its own members.

In addition to providing for its indigents, the family contains a system of relationships to its own members that makes for distribution. We need not describe here in detail the Blackfoot kinship system[1] with its various obligations, but a few examples will illustrate. We have already noted that kinship may be a prerequisite for one Indian to hire another. A haying gang consists frequently of a man with horses and wagons helped by his younger brothers,

[1]For analysis of the Blackfoot kinship system, cf. L. M. Hanks, Jr. and Jane Richardson, "Blackfoot Kinship," American Ethnological Society, Monograph IX, 1945.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

563 government charity for over forty years, surviving as best they could. Admission was granted to these families and subsequently to a few others of the same band.

Today these Indians constitute a special group which lives somewhat apart and is identified as "Cree" by the Blackfoot. They are distinct from the Cree wives of Blackfoot and the descendants of adopted Crees whose past affiliation with Crees, though recognized, does not constitute a basis for special social status. The new-comers receive all the benefits of the Blackfoot trust fund. They have constructed their own coal-mine and continue their own ceremonials. 563 Indeed, they use for their own purposes the Sun Dance lodge that 796 has been erected by the Blackfoot for Blackfoot rituals. In 1939, with no Sun Dance vower from the majority group, the Crees offered to save the day by holding the ceremonies according to their tradition. Some Blackfoot participated with interest, most were grateful and somewhat satisfied at having a "sort of a Sun Dance," but many were arrogantly critical of these proceedings. The Crees, on the defensive, resolved to impress these spectators with the ceremonial rigours and the strength of their power. One night, after the chief vower had fasted for more than forty-eight hours, in the presence of a few curious spectators the aged vower was said to have made the moon dance to the beat of his drum. Respect for the Crees rose perceptibly, and though this group is treated by local reserve residents as inferior, it is now probable that as its economic position improves, differences will disappear.

Social Structure and Kinship

504 The band having disappeared, there remains as the present
● 592 nucleus for living the individual family of husband, wife, and chil-
[829] dren. However, it is unusual for a family to remain long so small as this, for people consider themselves lonely and isolated under these circumstances. Only the recluses or very poor live alone with
596 their wives and children. As we have noted, a young man and his wife will come to live with an older brother or one of the husband's brothers-in-law. In this household the two men help each other with the work in the fields, while their wives collaborate on baby
[178] care and household chores. Such a system is a direct continuation
[593] of the time-honoured kinship obligations between brothers, and
[607] between a man and his sister's husband or his wife's brother.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

of mutilation. This brings to our attention the enhanced status of women through the application of white law. Through English precedent a Blackfoot woman may hold property in her own name, thus having authority which lies beyond the control of her husband. Furthermore, English law does not reinforce the authority over her by the male members of her family, as does Blackfoot practice. Thus in a case where a woman complained to the agent about mistreatment by her husband which had the approval of her own brothers, the case would probably be decided in favour of the woman by a white magistrate. Women are legally freer today than formerly. Naturally such legal practices have undermined much of the familial authority. It has been broken down further by years of boarding-school life away from the elders, as well as the white law which permits an adult female self-determination, once she has passed the eighteenth birthday.

On the side of the male other factors have further undermined marital stability. In the former polygynous households, relations with another woman could sometimes be legalized by incorporating her into the family as a co-wife. Of course, this is not permissible today. Moreover, the number of services performed by a woman for her husband have decreased. Though cooking and child tending continue, the hides that she once tanned, the tipi and buckskin clothes that she once made are either not desired, or their equivalents can be purchased from stores. Economically, wives are less valuable.

Remarriage after separation or death of a spouse is vastly simpler than initial marriages. Relatives, preferably the older brothers, of a woman usually select a satisfactory male who, in case of acceptance, notifies the agency of the event. The customary five dollars in cash is given again and notice sent to the stock-man concerning the delivery of rations. Male initiative in proposing marriage also occurs, though via an intermediary; in such cases a woman is expected to consult her male relatives before an answer can be given. Elopement of an unmarried girl does occur, but amends should be made to the offended authority of the woman's brother by sending a proper gift, traditionally a horse. In case of an elopement from a husband, the wife's brothers, if they approve the change, should relay the gift to the offended husband.

Such a picture of marital instability, hence household instability, superimposed upon the amorphousness of many extended families, shows the fluidity of reserve social structure. The points of stability

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

remain the honoured and respected heads of extended families whose lives are not chaotic. The residuals of a broken household rejoin their more stable relatives, while the new household, if not already provided with a residence, joins another group of relatives.

Death furnishes a final point where social disorganization may occur. It is faced today by some with terror, by others with equanimity. This seems to depend upon whether the dying person is mainly Christian or Blackfoot in outlook. Christians, uncertain of the future and concerned with the process of moral retribution, contrast with the Blackfoot who have no idea of atonement, for the mythical Sand Hills are considered a haven where good and bad alike are welcomed by their deceased kinsmen.

As death approaches, relatives gather around the dying person to bid him farewell. The immediate kin usually remain until the end, while others come and go. All are expected to help defray the cost of a funeral. Sometimes in the last hours a priest will be summoned to baptize a person of Indian faith, just as a kind of insurance.

After the last breath the formalities of mourning begin. In former times the nearest kin would don old clothes, cut their hair, and gash themselves with a knife. Old clothes and dishevelled appearance still obtain, and a mourner is vigilantly guarded by kinsmen to prevent serious self-injury. In the meanwhile others are dispatched to get the coffin, arrange for the burial service, and dig the grave. The corpse is attired in best raiment.

Funerals follow a simplified white pattern suffused with Indian custom. Rather than leave the coffin in the open or under a tipi, burial has been adopted to forestall grave robbers. There are no white prayers at the grave, but as the coffin is lowered, an intense wailing begins by all spectators. Kinsmen who heap the earth on top of the coffin receive special gifts. Once, a few years ago, however, a man received special supernatural powers in a dream to handle corpses and bury them, and he took no payment for his services.

The subsequent mourning follows the Blackfoot pattern. If the deceased is a key member of a household, especially a spouse, all unwilled possessions to the last packet of cigarettes are given away because the sight of these articles could only increase the pain of separation by reminding one constantly of the deceased. If a sibling, a child, or aged person dies, the mourning is not so intense, and the useful household effects remain in the hands of the mourners. In any case some kind of give-away with many people present is

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

The extended families that quickly dissipate are those with insufficient wealth to support many individuals and no central figure to carry the burden of leadership. Those loyal to the deceased will have other loyalties which compete with the successor. Successors with more of a flare for enjoying themselves than for maintaining the family assets lose their legacies and become dependents upon the more sagacious. Moreover, without a strong successor, quarrels over the legacy arise. In view of the multitudinous relatives recognized in Blackfoot society, particularly after several marriages, claimants for the property may be numerous. One recently contested estate consisting of horses and cattle was left intestate, though the deceased had given away the body of his horses before death. The claimants for the cattle were: (1) a classificatory older brother of the deceased, actually the dead man's mother's brother; (2) a classificatory young brother, actually the dead man's father's sister's son; (3) an adopted daughter; (4) a nephew, the exact relationship being unknown. As the nephew had already received the horses, this gift was confirmed by the council of chiefs, and the cattle were awarded to the adopted daughter; the other claims were unrecognized.

Today, households that are economically successful tend to become independent. Many Stars predicted at treaty time, "You will all be chiefs." As each household with a plough, harrow, and binder no longer needs the economic assistance of a chief, the main relationship to the leader is sentimental. The leader of a stable, extended family draws his followers from those without means, the young who have not yet obtained the tools of production, and the aged who need shelter and companionship. White law and administration have further weakened the system by the assumption that the conjugal biological family is the social unit to be preserved. For example, the levirate, which entrusted a younger brother with the care of his older brother's widow, is unrecognized in English law; today the widow must rejoin her own relatives pending remarriage and usually goes to the home of the one who is best able to support her, preferably her older brother. Furthermore, the head of an extended family has no officially recognized place in the political system. Few leaders of extended families are members of the council of chiefs, because, as we have shown, it is a frustrating position. Unofficially the head of an extended family may carry as much or more weight among Indians than many elected chiefs. A member

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

of warriors rode out after the enemy, killing many of them and chasing the rest away. The young woman's name was mentioned for days and nights after, as the people recounted what had taken place during that particular fight. It is said that some of the people complained, and feared that the girl performing men's deeds would set a bad example which might lead other girls to give up their household ways.

However, when her mother became helplessly ill sometime later, the future warrior woman decided on her own to take up household work. Since she was the eldest child in the family, there was no one to do the cooking and tanning while her mother slowly withered away. So she worked hard to learn what she had been avoiding, and she taught her younger brothers and sisters to help out wherever they could.

It is hard to say for how many years this young woman took the place of her mother in running the family household, but it is said that she did it very well. However, it is also said that she did it without receiving any pleasure from it, since she had probably already experienced too much excitement from the adventures of men's ways. At any rate, she had no boy friends and she took no interest in the plans others her age were making for marriage.

The turning point in the young woman's life came when her father was killed while on the war trail. News of his death also killed his widow, in her weakened state. The young woman and her brothers and sisters suddenly were orphaned, and she decided at that point to devote herself to her dream power giving her directions to follow men's ways. She took a widow woman into the lodge to help with the household work, and she directed her brothers and sisters in doing their share. She even carried a rifle—inherited from her father—at a time when many men still relied mainly on their bows and arrows.

Her first war adventure came not long after she and her family had gotten over their initial mourning. A war party

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

593 302 all about going for a ride. Instead I kept hanging around the window so I could look in and see if she was up yet. Finally I saw her sitting up. She had real long hair, and my mother was combing it. Then my father told my mother to take her outside. We had no toilets in those days. By the time they got back I was already inside and sitting down. Ponah kept looking over at me, but she didn't say nothing. I think she knew that something was wrong, but she didn't know what. My father told my mother to feed her. She asked my mother: "Are there any eggs?" I told her: "Yes, there is a big bird flying around outside and he really has big eggs!" My mother got mad at me right away, but I just said: "Well, she wants bird eggs, and I just want to help her." She just told me to keep quiet.

So, the eggs got cooked and served on a plate to Ponah. She was just about to take her first bite, when I called her, quietly: "Ponah!" She looked at me, and I just pointed at my face. She screamed out loud: "Her face is painted!" and she threw herself back and dropped all her food and just kept screaming like she was injured. My father jumped up, and I ran out the door as fast as I could toward where my horse was. Nobody caught me, but they called after me: "Come back and we will wash your face so that she can be painted first." I was almost by my horse, so I just called to them: "No, I'm already painted, why should I want to wash it off again?" Usually I wiped my face right away after I got painted, but this time I kept the paint on all day. She just kept crying.

CHILDHOOD MEMORIES
by Paula Weasel Head

868 462 592 When we were small we learned about household work by watching our mother, the way that she did things. She was a hard worker and she was very good at everything. That was

462 in the days when men were still treated like kings by the
592 women; they didn't do anything to help around the home. My father would sit and smoke his pipe, or sing songs and visit, and let my mother serve him and take care of everything. We were quite young, so she didn't make us work either. We would just play and watch.

342 We didn't have a very big house to live in when we were
[343] kids. But it was a good and warm one made of logs. My father always provided my mother with a separate log house to cook in. In it she had tables and chairs and she kept it to suit her-
461 self. She always began her work by chopping some wood, and then cleaning up her work area. If there was a meal to fix, she would cook. Otherwise she would sit down to sew or do beadwork. She never sat around idle. My sister and I learned well not to be idle, from our mother.

574 During the day my father would often saddle his horse and go visiting. He would ride over to the home of his mother. His father had several wives and they were all my father's mothers. Other times he would go to visit different relatives and friends. Back in the days before we were born my father had been to war with some of those friends, and they always talked about
462 those times when they got together. The spoiled way that my father acted was left over from those days, when men did all the fighting, hunting, and looking after the family horses, and the women did everything around the home.

512 While my father went riding my mother would stay home with us and do her work. Sometimes she would sew things for us, or tan hides for rugs or clothing. She would watch the sun, and when he got to a certain place in the sky she would start the fire for cooking. She would make tea, because she knew that my father would be home soon. He always came back before dark. When he got in she would serve him tea. He would sit at his place, at the back of the room, by the altar and under his bundles. He would slowly drink his tea, and

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

to him, just on the other side of him and his bundles. The people who had medicine pipes and beaver bundles always sat closest.

The men all sat cross-legged on the bed, wherever they were shown. Of course, the men always sat on the north side of the tipi and the women on the south. If a man was accompanied by his wife, she usually sat in the same place on the women's side as her husband was given on the men's. But the women never sit cross-legged. They sit with their legs either folded back to one side or else straight out.

After all the food was served out then my grandmother would serve out the beverage. Let's say she had tea. She would fill all the cups with tea and then pass them around to the guests. When they are through eating they just push their plates out away from themselves, and she comes around to pick them up. Then she sits back down by the fire and washes all her dishes right away. Most of the visitors brought their own plates and bowls, especially if they were religious people. If there was food left over at the end, she would divide it out among the bowls, and the visitors would take it home with them.

My uncle, Joe Heavy Head, was the one who usually did the chores and outside work around the tipi. He was their oldest son and he usually slept toward the back. He looked after the horses, and he went down to the bush for water and wood. My grandfather had no time for any chores because he was a religious leader. People kept him busy making announcements in the camp, or looking after their medicine pipe bundles. My grandmother had a lot of religious duties to take care of, too. On certain days she did all her day's work right in the morning, because she would be gone with her religious work the rest of the day.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

farmers may have made fewer dollars per acre, but their efforts were for a sort of family business that gave all involved a sense of pride and a tendency to respect money. Now that our People no longer operate their own all-around farms and ranches, there is little incentive for children to remain at home to help their parents, or for fathers and mothers to stay at home to work their land. There is, however, plenty of easily earned money at harvest time for those who have leased their land, and plenty of spare time to spend it in. Some families have used this cash bonus to increase their herds of livestock, to build new homes, or to provide their children with a future by paying for their schooling or giving them a start with a small herd of cattle. Unfortunately, others have spent the easy money on drinking sprees.

241
182
[592]
434
427
[454]

[p.225-B]

585 *me some. Then she gave me the rawhide con-*
[431] *tainer to put my toys in.*

I got very lonesome after I was there for
585 *three days. There was a lump in my throat. I*
593 *wasn't thinking of my mother. I was thinking of*
my father, because I loved him the most. A per-
[152] *son asked me, "What is the matter with you?"*
I told her, "My necklaces are too tight, that is
why I am crying." So she tied them looser. She
knew that I was lonesome and longing for my
parents. She said, "Both of you will go down,
you will go to see your mother." I was anxious
to go, so we went.

When we came to the top of the ridge I
saw my home down in the valley. I was really
happy. I didn't even greet my mother. I jumped
on my father and was hugging him. I was so glad
to see him. We slept there, and in the morning
we started coming westward.

593 *After two years, the mother of the one that I*
● 592 *married went up west. . . . I proved myself, and*
602 *now what kind of fingers I have for all the work*
I did? I started cooking right then. I was nine
years old when she went up west, and the other
mother of my husband, his real mother's sister,
she was very mean to me. That is why I am not
mean to my daughters-in-law, because this woman
was very mean to me. I used to carry two big
buckets of water, and she never fed me any bread.
Before I went to sleep I used to steal some bread
and I went to bed with it and ate it. My husband
used to get mad at me because the crumbs were
all over the bed. There, I told you the story
plainly, just the way I know about my marriage.

Mrs. Wadsworth and her husband took an
778 active part in the Old Ways of our People. For
425 several years they had the Backside-to-the-Fire
Pipe. The Pipe was transferred to them while
they were living on the land east of Stand Off. The
ceremony was held inside of the Upside-Down-
Buffalo-Head Tipi, which was given to them by
old Shot-on-Both-Sides. Natosina helped with the
pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake
us by. [P. 341-A]

residence, band, family connections, household, and societal memberships. These cards have been in my possession for many years and I shall be more than happy to make them available for study to any interested scholar. Finally, if anyone knows the present whereabouts of Marjorie Lismer I would appreciate hearing from them, care of the Plains Anthropologist.

Esther S. Goldfrank

INTRODUCTION

Adoption, in one form or another, is commonly found in most parts of the world and yet its mechanics are seldom recorded in any detail. With the Blackfoot it is now a well established custom and the Indians themselves say it was frequent in former times.

The Blood reserve, where these studies were made in the summer of 1939, is an area of 800 square miles in southern Alberta near the International Boundary. About 1450 people are spread over the reserve, in scattered households, with related families tending to cluster together. There are, roughly, 280 of these households, varying in size from those where several families, either of brothers, or of a man and his married children, live together in the same house.

The more prosperous families often have two houses, a farm where they live most of the summer until after the wheat and oats are harvested, and another house nearer the range where their cattle and horses graze. This does not mean that certain houses are unoccupied for half the year. There always seems to be a relative and his family to be accommodated in the other house. Means of subsistence include grain growing, cattle raising, and horse breeding. Horses, however, are not a source of money to any great extent but are used for exchange within the reserve. Government rations and subsidies are given to families who cannot support themselves. There are about a hundred households on destitute rations. Compared with neighboring reserves, however, the number on relief is relatively low.

A feature of family life that strikes even the most casual observer is the fluidity of the family group. Husbands and wives change partners with great ease and frequency, especially among the younger people. Marriages are very informal in many cases and requires little formality for divorce. This is of special interest to our problem since this breakup of the family frequently leave